CHRISTIAN NEWS-LETTER

Edited by JOHN LAWRENCE
for the CHRISTIAN FRONTIER COUNCIL

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★ *In this issue*

STALIN and
TITO

Published Quarterly - *April 1953*

The Christian Frontier Council, under whose auspices this journal is published, is a fellowship of 30 or 40 lay men and women who hold responsible positions in secular life and have met regularly for the past eleven years to explore with each other the practical implications of their faith. They include members of all denominations. From time to time the Council forms specialised groups to deal with subjects such as politics, medicine or education. The Council does not seek publicity, but on appropriate occasions the substance of its discussions will be made known in this journal. The Editor is solely responsible for what is published in "Christian News-Letter".

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Published in the middle of January, April, July and October

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Editorial Correspondence:
24 ST. LEONARD'S TERRACE
LONDON
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CHRISTIAN
NEWS-LETTER

From the Editor

A good many of us were brought up to look on Royalty in a utilitarian way, but in the end people like me have come to see a deeper meaning in Kingship. To my parents, for instance, the Monarchy was a very sensible and useful institution, and that was all. The King and Queen were conscientious, hard-working citizens who had deserved well of the community, but they were not to be taken very seriously; indeed, if one may say the truth, they were considered slightly absurd. And this view was not at all uncommon forty years ago.

It was obvious that many other people had different feelings about the Royal Family; but it was easy to say that such people were sentimental and unthinking, to explain their feelings away, or to laugh at their snobbery. All the same the feelings awakened by Royalty did not quite fit the rational explanations which were given to them. And like many others of my generation I began to find myself unexpectedly concerned at what happened to the King and Queen. Finally, when King George VI died, I was astonished by the strong emotions aroused in me by the death of a man whom I had never seen. And I believe that this evolution is typical of many.

Our Royal House has grown steadily in moral power for as long as middle-aged people can remember. One can find many causes for this, but such things are never fully understood by human minds. It is true that modern inventions have brought the Sovereign's personality much nearer to us. Nowadays the Queen can go at once to the scene of a disaster or wherever she is needed, we see her photograph continually in the papers, we see her on the cinema screen, and above all we hear her voice on the air. Broadcasting surpasses all other forms of mass communication in the intimacy of the personal link between listener and speaker. It is not easy to see why this should be, but the fact that it is so makes our national

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life more personal and more human in some of its broader aspect Many people complain with reason about the dehumanising pow of modern civilisation. But we ought also to think of the ways which modern inventions can bring human beings together in a intimate relation.

The Queen, and her father and grandfather before her, broa casting every Christmas from their home to our homes, are a effective symbol of stable family life in an age when the stability the family is threatened. We have been fortunate in having monarc whose simple Christian faith is expressed in the family virtues, b there is more than luck in it. We may be sure that the praye which we say for the Queen and her family every Sunday have ha their influence, but all kings and queens are prayed for and t results are not always the same. Different ages may use the sam words in prayer but the words do not always express the sam aspirations, for different ages need different things from kingshi We have asked for a symbol of family stability and we have bee given not only that but also a symbol of the fact that we in th island are at bottom one family. Much of our everyday life, ou shapeless towns, our conveyor belts, our forms in triplicate, our goo form and our insular manners make our relations to each oth impersonal, but in moments of crisis, as in 1940, we behave as a enlarged family.

We need a symbol to express this, and nowadays we begin to se more clearly that an effective symbol heightens the reality of tha which it expresses. We are learning the limits of our reason an we know the power of the unconscious; this does not make us les rational, indeed the contrary is true, but it leaves more room fo mystery. Relying less on ourselves we become less Pelagian; that to say, we are less inclined to think that we can get to heaven unde our own steam. Recognizing our weakness we become less avers to religion, and our religion is less bounded by our earthly longing

Such trains of thought end far from their starting-point, but tha is to be expected. The link which binds us and our Queen togethe also joins up a whole system of thought and feeling whose par cannot be separated from the whole.

Community and Communism

With us the monarchy has grown with the nation and expresse healthy community feelings, but where there is no such symbol th need which men feel to belong together expresses itself in Nationa Socialism, the Mau Mau, Communism and the like. An exterio

r merely rational association of human beings does not meet our rgent need for fellowship. But the tendency of modern life is to reak up natural communities, putting in their place an arbitrary ssociation of uprooted individuals brought together for utilitarian urposes in factories, towns and regiments. Sometimes these become rue communities but often they do not. Feeling the inadequacy f their associations people come together in the fellowship of the ub, in rotary clubs and in a hundred other ways. And among eligious people in the last few years words like community, fellow- hip, *koinonia* and *sobornost* have come to express an intense longing hich would not have been understood by our grandparents with eir well-ordered lives.

Communism is not a religion in the ordinary sense, but it lives pon emotions which would otherwise take a religious form. The arty member is a converted man who dedicates his life to the one ause which he conceives to be supremely noble and in harmony ith the nature of things. To him the party is an all-embracing ommunity, which transcends family and all else. He lives by self- evotion and immolation of his personal feelings, seeking to merge imself in something vaster. And in doing this he may not question e ultimates given to him by Marx and Lenin; that might weaken is faith or his discipline. So any error in the original doctrine works self out with merciless rigidity because the Marxist has no means f correcting these errors so long as he remains committed to his Iarxist faith. It is the fate of Communism to become inhuman hile trying to serve humanity because the character of Communism such that it breeds inhumanity.

Communism is a sort of gigantic tragic character, a noble creature ndone through a hidden fault. It is a theme for Sophocles or hakespeare, or perhaps for Milton. One can describe the causes f the tragedy, and the explanation will be true as far as it goes, but will not be fully convincing unless it is admitted that the devil ay play a part in human affairs. It is not that Soviet Russia is tterly corrupt, any more than ancient Rome, denounced under the ame of Babylon in the Book of Revelation, was utterly corrupt. ut good ideals have been twisted to diabolical ends.

The cruelties of Communism cannot be escaped by flying in the her direction. Fascism is worse, and secular liberalism has no uarantee that it can maintain its own values if the religious values hich lie behind the liberal scheme die away. Indeed, it is doubtful hether freedom can survive for long in a society which loses its

religion. Reason, which tries to take the place of religion in secular society, provides no compelling sanction for the respect o other people. Religion does, and not only the Christian religion Islam or Judaism, for instance, may give the background for a fre society, but Christianity is particularly apt for this purpose becaus it has no illusions about human nature but yet provides effectu means by which man can restrain the competitive urges of his falle nature and learn to respect his fellows.

Tito

If the foregoing argument is correct, Communism seems fated t turn into tyranny, but the Yugoslavian Communists are determine to show that this is not so. Marshal Tito and his collaborators ar very probably mistaken about many things, but they are sincere i their Marxist beliefs and in their love for freedom. And they adm that there is a problem in reconciling the two.

A recent book, "Tito Speaks", by Vladimir Dedijer (Weidenfel and Nicolson) helps one to see the difference between Tito an Stalin, between Soviet Russia and Communist Yugoslavia. It is no clear that Tito did not live long enough in Stalinist Russia or se enough of the people to become as thoroughly imbued with th Soviet spirit as many other Moscow-trained leaders. He was a loya Stalinist, but unlike many other leaders of Balkan Communism h led the struggle from inside his own country and not from th immunity of Moscow. So he became more closely identified with th Communist fighters in Yugoslavia and less near to the Kremlin. Th character which led him to risk all in the underground fight agains the pre-war dictatorship and then to organise out of nothing a heroi armed struggle also led him to take an independent line in discussion with Russia when other Communist leaders accepted the decrees o Moscow as if they were laws of nature. It is true that in many way Yugoslavia is a good country for a guerilla rising, but without Tit it is hardly likely that the Yugoslav Communists would have don much more against the Nazis than the Communists of other Eas European countries. At first the partisans had to capture all thei arms from the enemy. Their losses and their hardships wer terrible throughout. If Tito had been a Czech, a Greek or Rumanian he might have overcome obstacles that were not muc greater than those which lay in his way in Yugoslavia.

It was in Tito's character and in the Yugoslav character to behav independently, and it is now possible to trace the eventual causes o the break with Stalin back for several years. But the break whe

came was none the less a profound shock to Tito and to the ugoslav Communist Party, a shock which did them good. Forced r the first time to look objectively at the Soviet Union they still und much to admire, but they saw that something had gone wrong id they decided that Stalin's fatal error was to rely too much on mpulsion and not enough on free consent; the Kremlin centralised o much and tried to control everything. "Bureaucratic centralism" as the enemy and they set about the decentralisation of their lministration and their economic life with great vigour. Local eople must decide local questions, even if they are likely to make istakes. It is true that the party stands behind every factory mmittee and every local council, but the Yugoslav Communists ok forward to a "withering away of the party" which is to accom- iny the "withering away of the state" at no distant date. These ave words are not yet fulfilled and may never be fulfilled, but ey appear to be spoken in sincerity.

Yugoslavia has already made notable advances towards freedom ice 1948 but she now seems to be stuck half-way. Private con- ersation is free to an extent which seems incredible to any one io knows other Communist countries; decentralisation has been fective and has given much economic freedom to local enterprises. it the secret police still has excessive power which it abuses, and e censor has excessive power which he abuses.

Those who are not Marxists must continue to doubt whether larxist Communism and freedom are in fact compatible, but will ugoslavian Communism evolve into something different from what is to-day? This depends on whether the leaders of Yugoslavian mmunism really believe in discussion, and the omens are fairly vourable. In Yugoslavia it is not at all difficult to put to Com- unists questions which by implication challenge the whole basis of larxism, to have a reasonable argument with them about it and to el at the end that new points of view have made an impression. id this attitude seems to come from the top. Discussion is Tito's vourite way of passing the evening.

Dedijer describes Tito's discussions with his closest collaborators— irdelij, Djilas and Rankovic—as follows:

"They have been working together for the last fifteen years, and rking together has made them very close to each other, even in eir way of thinking. Usually, one of them lays down a thesis; for tance, on the development of villages. This thesis is not usually cepted by all, and a discussion develops which sometimes lasts

quite a long time. If an agreement cannot be reached that evenin the discussion is resumed on the following evening. These are fa discussions in which, of course, everybody reacts according to h temperament, but there is one thing which is particularly characte istic, and that is that all four of them endeavour to understand eac other." Dedijer is writing for publication in the West and no doub he is concerned to bring out what is likely to appeal to Wester Democrats, but in general his portrait of Tito is not overdrawn.

By contrast he gives descriptions, which have already becom famous, of the Yugoslav meetings with the Soviet leaders. Fror other sources we know something about Stalin's brusque way wit his subordinates. This, and his unwillingness to listen to what h did not want to hear, comes out vividly in the Yugoslav account

The Almighty and Political Warfare

The Political Committee of the U.N. standing in silence, the Pop praying for the soul of the "great persecutor who is now dead", M Churchill's solicitous enquiries for news of the dying Stalin; suc expressions of human feeling will not pass unnoticed in the Sovie Union, and they mean more to the Russians than is commonly realised

But President Eisenhower's expression of sympathy for the Russia people was put in a different category by the strident way in whic it was broadcast by the "Voice of America" to the Communis world. The message reminded the Russians that "they are th children of the same God who is the father of all peoples everywhere and expressed the hope that the Almighty would watch over Russi "regardless of the identities of the Government personalities". Th *New York Times* (reported in the London *Times* for 7th March) sai that the message was intended "to carry to the Russians and satellit peoples the powerful idea that man is mortal and that they woul do better to rest their faith in God and in an abiding political syste based on fraternity and freedom rather than on a new dictator". *Th Times* described this as "quite clearly a calculated act of politica warfare".

To the Russians a message put over in this way cannot seer sincere. Moreover, it confirms the Communists in their suspicion tha religion is used as a cloak for politics, and it may therefore lead t new difficulties for the Church in Russia. It is right and proper fo us to speak of our religion in broadcasts to other countries. But t exploit the name of the Almighty for political warfare, no matte what the cause may be, is to take the name of the Lord in vain.

J. W. L.

Stalin

In a moment death changes our feelings about a man. Let him e never so hated, before the great leveller we acknowledge that here as a human being, a man of like passions with ourselves.

What manner of man was Joseph Djugashvili, known to the world s Stalin? We know much of what he did but little of what he was. eter the Great and Lenin lived in controversy surrounded by hatred nd admiration; we know what they seemed to their friends and to eir enemies and they have left a vivid impression of what they emed to themselves. Peter's greatness and weakness, Lenin's great- ss and narrowness are as clear as if we had known them ourselves. ut with Stalin it was otherwise.

He was hardly known until he became unapproachable. Very ort, pockmarked, with a slight malformation of one arm, he spoke ussian with a strong Georgian accent which seemed comic to his bjects even when they feared him most. He was a pedestrian eaker and his choice of words was undistinguished.

Lenin saw that young Djugashvili was supremely competent and gave him important tasks, but the brilliant internationalists of e first Bolshevik generation sometimes looked down on their hard- rking comrade from the provinces. In their writings they have left vivid picture of the young Stalin.

When Stalin had overcome all his rivals he became almost at once e hero of a myth, the effective symbol of every feeling and aspiration hich belonged to the Bolshevik party. It seems that in private Stalin garded official adoration as a bit of a joke, but for reasons of state allowed nothing to be published that did not minister to the ritual cture of himself as the repository of infallible practical wisdom, the se father of the Soviet peoples.

In thirty years we may know a little more about Stalin as a human ing but perhaps not much more. For those Soviet citizens who ow Stalin in his intimacy it has long been dangerous to write down at they know, and it is not likely that there are in existence intimate rnals of Kremlin life. So we shall never know what lines of human perience were hidden by that moustache, what suffering or what f-questioning went to make Stalin what he was. We can only infer great man from great deeds:

> "In tragic hints here see what evermore
> Moves dark as yonder midnight ocean's force
> Thundering like ramping hosts of warrior horse,
> To throw that faint thin line upon the shore."

While Stalin lived he kept those around him so severely in the shade that we do not know the quality of the men who formed his team One of them will inherit the plenitude of Stalin's terrible power, for Russia is not ready to be ruled by a committee. It may not be clear for some time who the new ruler will be and it is not likely that he will make great changes at once. But over a few years it will be in his power to change the Russian scene out of all recognition. Stalin was the prisoner of his past. What he did and said in his ascent to power set limits to the way in which he could use his power. And he had too many enemies for it to be safe for him to relax.

Stalin's successor will not be burdened with Stalin's past. And the history of Russia shows that a Russian autocrat can make a revolution from above. It is hard to say whether this possibility gives more cause for hope or for fear.

J. W. L.

Frontier Luncheon

The Rev. A. S. Cran, the vicar of Congresbury, near Bristol, who speaks at the next Frontier Luncheon, has some new things to say about village life to-day. A countryman by birth, he has spent most of his working life in the industrial north. Describing his arrival in a country parish of 1500 people, he writes: "At first I was lost and wholly out of my element. I took myself in hand and determined to master my job as a country parson. I studied the history of my locality and village; I made friends with my farmers and learned all I could of practical tasks and problems; I tried to study the economics of farming; I did a lot of hard thinking on the relations of the church and the village community; I tried to approach the village as a fellow villager rather than from my position as vicar, and at the same time I tried to do my job in church as well as I could. People began to return to church".

The Luncheon will be in the crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields at 12.45 p.m. on the 7th of May, and the chair will be taken by Mr. Edwin Barker. Tickets, 3s., should be obtained (before 5th May) from the Christian Frontier, 8 The Cloisters, Windsor Castle.

N.B.—No further notice of this lunch will be given.

The third impression of PATER NOSTER, a meditation on the Lord's Prayer, first published as a supplement to the "Christian News-Letter" in January 1941, *is available from "The Christian Frontier", 8 The Cloisters, Windsor Castle. Single copies, 3d. each; 2s. per dozen, post free.*

Tito and the Churches

The following article is an attempt to distil the collective wisdom of several minds. All of them have made a close study of Yugoslavian affairs. They have tried to find the truth but they claim no freedom from error. They have tried to express themselves in sober language in order not to cause unnecessary pain to those who disagree with them, but the reader should realise that every event is charged with passionate emotion.

Every fact about the last ten years in Yugoslavia is disputed and these disputes go back to the racial and religious divisions of the country.

"Yug" is a Slavonic word meaning "south", and Yugoslavia means simply the land of the southern Slavs. Several related but distinct peoples were brought together to form the modern state of Yugoslavia. Of these peoples the most important were the Serbs and the Croats; with certain differences of pronunciation and vocabulary (as it might be between English and Lowland Scots) they speak the same language; but the Serbs write it in Cyrillic characters (resembling the alphabet used by the Russians) and belong to the Eastern (Orthodox) Church, while the Croats are Roman Catholics and use the Latin alphabet. There are (or were) a considerable number of Serbs in Croatia but very few Croats in Serbia; in Bosnia both peoples and both Churches are represented. Just under half the total population of Yugoslavia is Orthodox; rather over a third Roman Catholic; the balance is made up by about a million Moslems and smaller Protestant and Jewish minorities. The Moslems are a relic of Turkish domination; they are for the most part not Turks but Slavs of exactly the same origin and language as their neighbours. Their ancestors adopted Islam centuries ago; in Bosnia and Herzegovina they have long formed the ruling class.

The Slovenes, the third main branch of the Yugoslavs, are a highly Westernised people living on the borders of Austria and Italy. During the war they were partitioned between Hitler and Mussolini, most of Slovenia going to Italy. Moreover, there is a Slovene minority in Italy and in the country behind Trieste, and the Italian Fascists deported large numbers of them to southern Italy, where many died. The Roman Catholic Church has exercised a very strong influence in Slovenia.

The religious difference between Serbs and Croats expresses a deep difference in their historical careers. The Serbs received

Christianity from Byzantium and have since come by the stony road of Turkish conquest to hard-won independence. The Croats were converted from Rome and were for centuries associated with Hungary, forming part of the Habsburg dominions. Yet the feeling of kinship between the South Slav peoples was so great that after the First World War they came together in partnership to form the Yugoslav State.

Nevertheless, relations between Serbs and Croats were often strained. The Serbs claimed with some justice that they (and the Montenegrins) had done most of the fighting for South Slav independence. The Croats could justly claim a higher cultural standard, they resented heavy-handed attempts at centralization from Belgrade, and the Croat separatist movement received some encouragement from Italy. During the last war the Axis powers made the most of these differences and set up a more or less independent state of Croatia, nominally under an Italian Royal Duke but in fact ruled by the infamous Ante Pavelich, the organizer of the assassination of King Alexander, who instituted the worst kind of Fascist régime. He used the historic identification of Roman Catholicism with Croat nationalism and with anti-Serb feeling in an attempt to give a moral sanction to his policies. His aim was a purely Croatian state but his boundaries included many Serbs. So he decided to get rid of the Serbs. This could be done by driving them away, by converting them to Roman Catholicism or by killing them. All three methods were extensively used. Those who remained in Croatia had the choice of changing their religion or being massacred. Hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were killed. Some were forcibly converted and then massacred notwithstanding.

These terrible events are well attested. The fact that the forcible conversion and massacres took place in the name of a movement which proclaimed itself as a Roman Catholic crusade, and that Roman Catholic priests took part in it, is not an argument against the Roman Catholic doctrine any more than crimes committed in the name of Protestantism could be an argument against Protestant doctrine. But those who saw bodies of murdered Orthodox floating down the river even at Belgrade will not forget what they saw.

Mgr. Stepinac, the Archbishop of Zagreb, protested privately against the campaign and told the Roman Catholic priests to do what they could to mitigate the horrors. But we have not been able to find that he protested in public, while he did permit himself to be publicly associated with Pavelich and his régime, and was chairman

f the episcopal committee of three formed to regulate the reception f Serbs into the Roman Catholic Church. It should not be forgotten nat the Roman Catholic Bishops were in a difficult position and may ave felt real doubt about the best way to restrain Pavelich. The orst that can be said against most of the Roman Catholic hierarchy that they did not press their protest with sufficient vigour, but narich, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Sarajevo, took an active art in the campaign.

he Revolution

When the Yugoslav Communist Party triumphed over its rivals the end of the war, all the Churches were suspect to the new gime because of their relations with the old order of society, cause they preached a doctrine contrary to dialectical materialism, id because they made claims on men's loyalty which might contra- ct the claims of the Communist Party and of the state which it id established. The Roman Catholic Church was considered rticularly obnoxious on account of its identification with Croatian paratism and the Pavelich régime in the minds of many people, and cause of its Italian connexions at a time when Yugoslavia was gaged in a heated dispute with Italy over Trieste.

The trial of Archbishop Stepinac was calculated to stir up feelings ainst those who were responsible for the massacres which accom- nied the forcible conversions and to direct these feelings against e Roman Catholic Church. The strength of the feelings roused nong the Orthodox is not to be lightly estimated. Many Serbs who e staunch Christians and strongly opposed to most aspects of arshal Tito's régime have bitter feelings on this subject, feelings ich even a dictatorship cannot lightly disregard.

Up to the break with Moscow in 1948 the relations of Church and te in Yugoslavia followed the usual Communist pattern. Since 48 there has been a distinct easing of relations, but it may be ubted whether the improvement has continued in the last year. A Christian in Yugoslavia can worship freely: the churches are en, and services are held regularly. But the Yugoslavian mmunist Party has recently reaffirmed its rule that no believer n be a party member. So long, therefore, as the Communist Party ntinues to be the directing force in the State it is difficult for a n who is known to be a keen Christian to rise to a high position public life except in unusual circumstances. Public life is poorer, but is it a Christian claim that Christians should be ible for the highest positions in the state? or is the renunciation

of such opportunities a sacrifice which we must be ready to make as part of our witness?

There is no militant atheist campaign comparable with the anti-God campaign in Russia after the Revolution, but Yugoslavian Christians must send their children to State schools, where they will be taught materialistic views which their parents consider false and pernicious. Religious instruction is forbidden by law in private houses or schools but is permitted on church premises; classes of children receiving instruction from priests may be seen in many churches. The Roman Catholics are accustomed to organize their own Sunday schools, but in the past the Orthodox have been accustomed to rely too much on the religious teaching provided in the State schools, and so far they have not been particularly successful in organizing Sunday schools. In short, parents who wish their children to receive teaching about their religion may have to show considerable persistence and must consider whether in doing this they are not prejudicing their worldly prospects. Extra-curricular activities are often organized at the hour for church or Sunday school and it is widely believed that the authorities sometimes do this on purpose.

Christian parents complain that they can no longer get suitable religious literature for their children. The Bible Society is the only source of new Bibles in Serbo-Croat, and its work has been and is hindered in various ways. Church magazines and pamphlets are published and circulated but they are very skimpy and jejune, and few religious books can be bought. There are Christian writers in Yugoslavia, but religious books are not published and foreign religious books are not translated.

Large numbers of priests of all churches were put in prison in the first years after the revolution and many are in prison now. Those priests who are at liberty, and they are the great majority, are able to conduct services and administer sacraments, but in their sermons they have to avoid saying anything that could be taken as criticism of the régime; otherwise they risk being put in prison or beaten up by assailants who cannot be brought to book. It is true that a priest who knows how to express himself with sufficient skill can say with impunity things for which others may be punished. But not all the clergy are consummate diplomatists; and why should they be?

Both in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches there have been formed "unions of priests", which are favourably viewed by

ne régime but regarded with great suspicion by many church people s being tools of the anti-clerical régime. Indeed, the "Society of t. Cyril and St. Methodius" has been condemned by the Roman atholic hierarchy. In all the churches there are a few clergy and ity of faith and integrity who believe that they can work with the égime.

In general the picture is neither so black nor so rosy as it is metimes painted. Since Marshal Tito's visit to Britain a new deal r the churches is promised: results will be awaited with interest. hristians in Yugoslavia contend with great difficulties, but more eople go to church now than before the war, and this applies both Orthodox and to Roman Catholic parts of the country.

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he Africa Secretary of the London Missionary Society shows how a elay before taking irrevocable steps in Central Africa could be used nstructively, and he points to the human realities on which the failure or success of any political scheme will depend.

Decision in Central Africa

R. K. ORCHARD

The proposals for a Federation of the three Central African rritorities of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have tracted an astonishing amount of public attention in this country—a mptom, no doubt, of the increasing interest in African affairs which as been so noticeable in recent years, and also possibly of a growingly nsitive (or uneasy?) public conscience about dependent people in e Commonwealth. Within the limits of this article it is impossible outline the history of the discussion, the background to the oposals, or the provisions of the Draft Federal Scheme. The heme as now formulated is submitted to the four governments ncerned for their decision; it is not open to further amendment. his may therefore be a suitable time to indicate some of the issues hich are involved in the decision which will soon have to be made Parliament in this country on whether or not to approve the Scheme it stands, and to put it into effect.

The Draft Federal Scheme is a skilful attempt to bring into one litical unit Southern Rhodesia, which is already practically a self-verning dominion, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which are otectorates, without infringing either the autonomy of the former the protected status of the latter. The economies of the three rritories are obviously complementary. As a single economic and

political unit they would, no doubt, have a better chance of survival and progress in contemporary conditions, which are usually unfavourable to small economic and political units.

To anyone who repudiates doctrines of racial superiority it must be equally clear that any effective progress for the peoples of all races in Central Africa must be based on the creation of a just and workable multi-racial community by the co-operation of all races. The economic, social and political institutions must both reflect and promote co-operation in the development of resources and of the life of the community for the good of the community as a whole. Consequently, both the Scheme as such and the wisdom of its being implemented at this point must be judged by whether such action will promote or hinder the development of a real community whose common life is effectively shared by all races.

Promotion of inter-racial co-operation, the test.

So much would, it seems, be widely agreed. It is from that point onwards that differences arise, even amongst those whose concern for African interests and welfare is unquestioned. The debate tends to focus on two points. The first is, whether Federation is or is not likely to provide the best possibility for the growth of an harmonious multi-racial community.

It is affirmed on the one hand that the creation immediately of a Federal State under the British Crown provides the best means for ensuring that the Central African territories will develop their political institutions on racially liberal lines, and is the best means of defence against the spread northwards of policies and attitudes emanating from the Union. In support of this view, it is pointed out that the section of the white community in Southern Rhodesia which believes in white dominance is bitterly opposed to Federation, and to many their opposition is indeed the strongest argument in favour of "federation now".

But this line of argument is questioned by others. They note that while the Draft Scheme gives six seats in the Federal Assembly of 35 members to Africans, and three to European members charged with special responsibilities for African interests, it does not succeed in guaranteeing the increasing participation of Africans in the Federal Government as they gain political experience and maturity. Neither the African Affairs Board (a standing committee of the Legislature with three African and three European members, and power to secure reference to a Secretary of State in London of any legislation regarded

s discriminatory), nor the provision for a review of the constitution ot less than seven nor more than nine years after its coming into rce provides full assurance that the constitution and political stitutions in general will in fact be adjusted to encourage increasing frican participation as Africans advance in capacity to handle olitical affairs.

Everything depends on whether the constitution will in fact be orked in a liberal spirit and direction, and it is suggested that it ould be wise to secure the evidence of actions, such as the removal of me of the present discriminatory laws and practices, before the pro-sed Federation is put into effect. For example, if the pass laws in uthern Rhodesia and the Copper Belt were modified to exempt many ore Africans, industrial legislation in Southern Rhodesia and Trade nion Colour Bar rules in the Copper Belt restricting Africans' quisition of industrial skills were withdrawn, and a statement were sued defining the stages in each territory by which the franchise ould be progressively extended to Africans, such actions would at nce produce confidence both in this country and amongst responsible fricans in the intentions which would guide the policy and practice the Federal State. Once the Federation is inaugurated the ssibilities of the United Kingdom government exercising an influence the policies and practices of the Federal government (as distinct m the territorial governments of the two northern territories) will slight, and in view of the contemporary tendency towards centraliza-n in government, it seems inevitable that the powers of the Federal vernment will increase at the expense of the territorial governments.

ttitude to African Opposition.

The second focus of the debate is on African opposition to the an. Many would agree that on the whole the draft Scheme is a ir and reasonable piece of constitution-making, but would have ave doubts about the wisdom of its being put into effect in face of despread African opposition. The view that Africans are unani-usly opposed to the Scheme and that therefore it should be rejected an over-simplification which hardly merits consideration; African position, though widespread and considerable, is not unanimous; d African opinion could not rightly be given such an absolute power veto. On the other hand, the contrary view, that African opposition either based on mere ignorance, or results only from intimidation the part of a few African agitators who hope for power for them-ves in an African-dominated state, and that African opposition can

therefore be ignored, equally puts itself out of court by its extremism. There is sufficient evidence of a responsible body of African opinion which both understands the main issues at stake and is opposed to Federation because it fears the result of increasing the political power of the European community and because it believes (whether rightly or wrongly) that it will block the way to African social and political advance. Opposition of this informed kind is numerically small, but it comes from a section of the community from which the leaders of African thought and action must be drawn, and it is therefore significant. The more general and widespread opposition, though it may be ill-informed, is nevertheless also a fact of the political scene which cannot be ignored.

Those who would reject either of these extreme views still differ from each other. Some would say "African opinion has been consulted; its views have been considered; safeguards have been introduced into the final draft as a result of that consideration (e.g. on land tenure). We are now convinced that the plan is the best possible one and is in the interests of the people of the territories as a whole. Therefore, whether Africans as a whole agree or not, it should be proceeded with at once. For it is the duty of government to govern, and of a trustee to act in the best interests of his ward, not necessarily to acquiesce in his ward's wishes".

Others would argue that the success of the plan, including its expected political and economic benefits, depends on mutual confidence and trust between the races within it; and that to override African opinion, especially after it has been consulted, is not likely to promote such trust and confidence. It is necessary therefore to secure a sound basis of trust and confidence before Federation is inaugurated, by such demonstrations of goodwill in action as would be given by the removal of some discriminatory legislation and practices. In order to avoid a long period of political uncertainty and the scope that might give for agitation on the part of extremists, both European and African, general approval should be given to the plan, but the implementing of it should be postponed for a definite period, say five years, during which period it would be open to any responsible group to put forward amendments or alternative plans; if any such won more general assent they would be accepted; otherwise the present proposals would be put into effect at the end of the period (subject to the review already provided in the draft Scheme). Such a procedure would put the onus of formulating constructive alternatives upon the opponents of the Scheme, and would provide an opportunity for demonstrating good

ntentions in practice. In the meantime, economic co-operation etween the territories could, if desired, be secured by other means, uch as an inter-territorial economic commission.

Objections against this approach urge that it is a matter of federation now or never". The reasons for such urgency are not oo clear. It is said that after a few years the present leaders in Central Africa who might carry the Scheme through may no longer e in power. Economic pressures will force Southern Rhodesia owards the Union of South Africa if it is not immediately made part f a larger Central African unit. It is politically unrealistic to expect ne government in Southern Rhodesia, in the present state of public pinion there, to be able to secure such improvements of Native policy s are suggested; Federation will provide the conditions for carrying European opinion in the Rhodesias progressively upon a liberal road.

A Crisis of Confidence.

From all of this it may be deduced that the real argument is not bout a constitution but about confidence. How much trust is to e placed in the European community in the Rhodesias to exercise ne increase in power which will come to them with a full regard for ne economic, social and political progress of Africans? How can frican trust be won and strengthened? Constitutional safeguards lone will not remove their fears; they have seen what has happened o constitutional safeguards in the Union. Does there remain amongst fricans sufficient confidence in British administration to provide a asis on which Federation can be made to work, even though it be nforced against African opposition, because it is held to be in their est interests and when they see it working they will accept it? Fifty, ven twenty years ago that could probably have been done—and ghtly done; is it either possible or right to-day?

Part of the difficulty of this whole matter seems to the present writer arise from the fact that African fears and aspirations have been fficially met by a constitutional answer which does not touch their al roots. It is not enough that their rights and interests should be feguarded; they must be convinced that they are. In the present ate of racial tension, it is probable that no words will carry that nviction; only deeds will be adequate. The handling of the negotia- ons about Federation has not been notable for insight into the state mind of the African community or for understanding treatment of frican fears and hopes. And no one has discovered those imagina- ve and creative acts of statesmanship which speak directly to the

hearts and minds of ordinary men, and which might have evoked real confidence and trust.

Judgment on the immediate issue—should Federation be implemented now, or not?—will necessarily be based not simply on the constitutional merits of the Scheme, but on an assessment of the political forces and tendencies at work in Central Africa, including the psychological factors which are so difficult to assess and so perilous to ignore. Christian people in this country have a responsibility for this decision all the greater because of their links with the churches in Africa. It is to be hoped that they will make their views known.

Long-Term Issues.

Behind the immediate decision there lie long-term issues with which Christian opinion in this country and in Africa must be deeply concerned. In view of the crisis of confidence in Central Africa which the discussion of Federation has revealed—not to mention events elsewhere in the Continent—is it possible still to hope for the creation of a just and workable multi-racial society? If it is, what steps must be taken towards it, at all costs and as a matter of first-class *political* urgency? For it is obvious that the time in which to do it is extremely short, if it has not passed already.

Secondly, what is the policy of the United Kingdom government towards multi-racial societies in Africa? The traditional policy of transferring political power to Colonial territories as they are held to be capable of exercising it has produced on the one hand Dr. Nkrumah in the Gold Coast, and on the other Dr. Malan in the Union of South Africa. There is a natural expectation amongst both Africans and Europeans in Central Africa that the same policy will be applied there. What is it intended to produce in a multi-racial society? Is it adequate to transfer power, with certain safeguards for the politically weaker sections of the community? What sort of institutions are envisaged for the expression of the life of the total community? Is it likely that institutions derived from the British Parliamentary system will work in a multi-racial society? Or is there perhaps need for some clear statement of the principles and conditions on which power will be transferred—a Bill of Rights for multi-racial societies—and a programme for the implementation of them, which will serve notice on those who are not prepared to accept a policy of inter-racial co-operation that they have no future in such territories?

Thirdly, within the context of the Christian Churches, what modification of strategy and tactics is required by the (apparently inevitable)

ocess of transfer of power from London to Africa? What should imply for the activities of missions and in the life of the churches Africa? What should it involve for attempts to bring Christian fluence to bear on political questions, if the locus of political power increasingly in Africa rather than in London?

These are questions which we have perhaps scarcely begun to face. it the crisis in Central Africa is surely serving notice on us that the ne for facing them is short. It is, in a sense, a miniature of a sis which is in principle continental in its scope, and indeed affects e Commonwealth as a whole. The surprising extent of public erest in the Federation issue is perhaps an inarticulate recognition the fact that the decision on it may set the pattern for future licies which will affect not only all Commonwealth territories in rica but the Commonwealth as a whole.

The Racial Problem in Brazil

KENNETH G. GRUBB

are right to be chiefly concerned with race relations inside the mmonwealth, but there is a danger that we may think too much terms of our own experience. The Secretary-General of the Luso-azilian Council describes a pattern of relations between races which evolved over centuries and embraces far greater numbers of men and women than are contained in South Africa.

o study the racial and social configuration of a country of 53 lion people, occupying an area larger than the continental United tes, is no waste of time. That country is Brazil. It is a country ere the racial problem is being solved by mixing of races and milation. There are those who say that this is no solution, and very idea of it would horrify popular opinion in other parts of world, particularly in South Africa. What is quite certain is that solution is not one of set purpose and design. At no period has one planned that things should be so. In the development of ory they have just happened to be so. But the reasons are worth stigating.

he thirteen ships which left the Iberian Peninsula in the year 0 were intended to plough their way through the waters to the es. That they discovered the coast of Brazil on the way was an

accident, and so little importance was attached to the discovery tha even in the year 1550 there were only some 3,000 Portuguese colonists in Brazil. Subsequent events followed a pattern familiar in the Americas. The colonists encountered the native Indians, but found them insufficient to provide the labour and service they needed. The African slave was imported to supply the defect, and with the humane intention, so vigorously championed by Bartolomé de las Casas, o saving the Indian. In the century and a quarter of Brazil's inde pendence new currents of European immigration have flowed to these shores, and between the world wars Brazil opened its doors to Asiatic immigration.

When Alexander von Humboldt visited the country in 1818 he reckoned that the total population was somewhat over three and a half millions. Of these he calculated that nearly two million were Negro, and the remainder were divided between whites, mixed and Indians. In 1950 the official statistician returned 63 per cent of the population as white, 15 per cent as black, 21 per cent as brown o Indian, with certain unclassified minorities. Thus there has been a significant shift in proportions. What then has happened, and wha is happening, and what is likely to happen to the population of Brazil?

Mixing

The answer is that a long process of mixing has been going on and is likely to continue indefinitely. It is apparently still the tendency of the white element to increase at the expense of the coloured and this is presumably to be connected with the fact that the benefits o public health and welfare are more easily accessible to the white Social progress has not yet penetrated far among the black population This raises the question why the Portuguese should take so kindly to this process, and the usual explanation given is somewhat on the following lines. At the time of the discovery, the Portuguese themselves were not what might be called a pure race in the biological sense, if any meaning can be attached to the phrase. They were the result of the mixture of the primitive inhabitants of the peninsula the early Iberians, with many other races and peoples, such as the Celts, the Greeks, the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Visigoths and particularly the Arabs and North African peoples, not to mention the Jews. The Iberian peoples, so the argument runs, had been for centuries accustomed to think of a dark-skinned race as the master of a large part of the Iberian peninsula, as their social equals, if not their superiors, and they regarded the invaders' women as the highes

ype of feminine beauty. It was natural, therefore, for the Iberian eoples to nourish less racial prejudice than any other of the Western uropeans. When in turn it became their lot, not to be colonised, ut to colonise, they found nothing repugnant, and much in accord-nce with their instinct, in inter-marrying with the native races. ndeed, human nature itself compelled them to that end, for the early olonists brought few women with them. They made their liaisons nd sought their wives among the native American Indian population.

This introduces the second element in the scene—the Indian. The ndians of Brazil are a component part of the American Indian eoples, who are found from the snow-bound lands of the Eskimo own to Cape Horn. In Brazil they achieved no trace of the great ltures, such as can be found in Peru, Mexico or Central America. hey lived at a very primitive level; some were hostile and some iendly to the invaders. It was with these people that the first inter-ingling took place. The most famous romantic novel in Brazilian erature is José de Alencar's *Iracema*. It is a very simple, but autiful story of contact between the Portuguese settlers and the dians. It was not till many years after its publication that it was oticed that the name Iracema was an anagram of America. In the nion between the races Alencar, undoubtedly, found the key to the eation of a new civilisation in the southern part of the New World.

There are reckoned to be some six million Negroes in Brazil and rhaps this is an underestimate. The importation of slaves continued most up to the middle of the nineteenth century at the rate of some ty thousand a year, and slavery itself was not abolished until 1888. have myself spoken to Negroes in Brazil who had been slaves in eir own lifetime. Mostly Hausers and Fulanis, they were collected om the coast and hinterland of West Africa, and although many of em enjoyed but a very low level of culture, some of them had already en influenced by Islam and brought with them a higher conception social life than that of the surrounding Indians. In the *senzalas* or ve quarters of the great patriarchal households and sugar planta-ns in Brazil the mingling of the races went on constantly.

To these natural social explanations the distinguished Brazilian ciologist, Fernando de Azevedo, adds one other. He dwells on constant shift and movement of the population of Brazil, on the at expeditions of the *bandeirantes* of Sao Paulo which carried the ntier ever forward, north, south and west. All through the colonial iod there was a constant ferment and commotion, and people of ferent races and different levels of culture were brought indis-

criminately into close touch, under conditions of complete social laxity and little religious or civil discipline. Indeed this has continued until recent times. In the Amazon Basin I have myself witnessed how the tens of thousands of starving people, who, until modern irrigation was developed, were driven out of the north-east of Brazil by droughts, have settled down and intermingled with the strongly Indian types of these vast interior forests.

It is the variety of races and the relatively low culture of the countryside until quite recent times that have facilitated the constant process of intermingling in Brazil. If there is a feeling of rift and contrast between the different peoples, it is one of education and culture rather than race. It would be almost true to say that the Indian has supplied a middle term which has obviated the danger of racial antagonism between black and white and provided a meeting ground for the extremes. The whites have intermarried with the more advanced and socially established of the Indian families, and it is not uncommon to meet a Brazilian family who will take a modest pride in a descent from some often imaginary Indian hero of the past. At the other end of the social scale, the more backward and illiterate Indians who are, indeed, by far the majority, have intermarried freely with the Negroes.

Energy and Originality

It is difficult to say which of these historical or contemporary factors has most facilitated miscegenation and assimilation. Certainly no one cause is sufficient to explain the constant movement towards the creation of what some deprecatingly call a racial amalgamation. Naturally it is legitimate and possible to hold very different views of the results of the process, as they are seen to-day, but it should be remembered that the process is by no means completed. Brazilians themselves are very properly eager to combat the assertions of those who hold that miscegenation inevitably leads to deterioration, and they have a very good case. It is doubtful whether any other tropical country has in recent decades shown such productive energy and such cultural originality as contemporary Brazil. There is no racial discrimination expressed in legislation or in any other formal manner. Such a thing would not be tolerated in any part of the country. It is, however, not true to say, as Brazilians like to claim, that there is no racial prejudice or social discrimination. This can be readily detected in the more cultured circles of the capital, but it is quite certain that, at the official level, it is not recognised.

There are a few elements of the population which remain outside his picture. In the extreme south there are thousands of German colonists living in self-contained and well-defined areas, who mingle little with the general population. In the extreme north, that is in the Amazon Basin, there are still Indian tribes who are beyond the pale of civilisation. Even in 1951, when I was last in Brazil, there was an appeal from the Governor of one of the interior states to Rio de Janeiro to ask for federal assistance in keeping the savage Indians under control. Nearly half-a-million Japanese live in Brazil, but for the most part these immigrants, who have been in the country for some thirty years, have kept to themselves. There has been some intermarrying in São Paulo, but, in general, geography has encouraged their isolation. The Japanese colonies on the Amazon are extremely cut off.

That is the broad picture of the racial problem in Brazil. Indeed, many Brazilians would say that there is no problem. They would add that the evidence of official statistics is that the Negro is gradually being absorbed. They would also claim, to an extent which in my view is unjustified, that there are a considerable number of families of pure white, that is of unmingled Portuguese blood. What is quite certain, however, is that statistics, although I have myself quoted some in the earlier part of this article, are misleading on the proportion of the races. The boundaries can only be drawn with the utmost vagueness.

It is obvious that, while the racial composition has been thus evolving and changing, the economic problems of the country have also changed. But, whereas to-day a mixed industrial and agricultural economy has succeeded the plantation and crop economy of the past, there is little to show that this will affect adversely the prevailing racial tolerance. That may come; at present there is a great deal of evidence to support the view that the virtual elimination of any sense of racial conflict has released the energies of this great country, not only economically but also culturally. Some of the most remarkable productions of the Latin American mind have their origin in Brazil. Perhaps it is worth adding that in no other Latin American State have the Protestant churches struck so firm roots. The country as a whole owes its allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church, which, indeed, has been the vehicle and interpreter of Christian culture throughout most of the republic, but it is calculated to-day that there are between two and three million Protestants in this vast, united and tolerant country.

The Governor of Askham Grange open prison for women describes what happens to women when they come out of prison and shows how they can be helped.

Women and Prison

JOANNA KELLEY

When a person has broken the laws of his country—man-made laws even if they are often based on God's laws too—that person is judged by his or her fellow men and women, and in their name may be sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The punishment, be it noted, is the deprivation of liberty for a stated length of time. There is no desire on the part of society that the treatment of offenders against its laws, while deprived of their liberty, should be harder or harsher than it need be.

Naturally life in prison is disciplined and austere. Where many people are collected together, their main common bond being that they have broken the law, rules, discipline and vigilance are very necessary. One of the greatest difficulties of prison officials is to check one prisoner stealing from another even where each has so little. There is no honour among thieves.

Naturally, too, the taxpayer does not wish to support law breakers in luxury. Food is adequate, but of the cheaper varieties; heating is sufficient, but not luxurious; buildings keep out wind and weather, but do not necessarily please the eye; and so on. But within this framework the treatment of prisoners is humane and kindly, and constructive when possible.

People who say that prisons are too soft should remember what deprivation of liberty means. A woman, for instance, has to wonder how her husband and children are, who is looking after them, are they forgetting her; if she is used to a life of licence rather than self discipline, she finds impulses thwarted at every turn. She has to wear what she is told, work where she is told, get up and go to bed when she is told, eat what is put before her. Her letters and visits are censored and supervised, and are probably much less frequent than she would like. This is equally true of a "closed" or an "open" prison. She has also had the shock of being found out, arrested and tried, with all the attendant publicity and humiliation.

The fact that over 80 per cent of first offenders do not return to prison a second time suggests that as a deterrent a prison sentence is pretty effective.

When the prisoner goes out, what then?

Some have told me their real punishment begins when they have ft prison.

The first offender has to face her family, her neighbours, to accept ie humiliation of having been tried by her fellows and found wanting. he may have to face loss of trust, confidence, even of affection. he may have to bear being constantly or occasionally reminded of hat she has done. She may have lost her clothes, her home, her vings, her job, and have to start again. She will certainly have face all sorts of difficult problems in all her personal relationships.

Most women first offenders, however, seem to be taken back by ieir families, who help them in their rehabilitation and are able to ve them the support and backing they need in order to become ormal citizens again.

o tell or not to tell?

Far different, very often, is the case of the persistent offender. nly too often the gap in the circle which her going to prison has ade is closed. Her husband has perhaps got tired of being left so ten, and has left her for always. Her children are with foster arents, or with grandparents, or relations, or adopted, and they know id love other people better than their mother. Her friends and orkmates have forgotten her, or do not want to be in touch with er again. The only people she knows well, on whose interest she n count, are prison officials or fellow prisoners. Her circle is nside". Her friends are "inside". She comes back to prison almost ith a sense of relief, as to home. Outside she has no one left who res for her, whom she can trust, in whom she can safely confide. ie has to face terrible loneliness. If she is anxious to go straight, e is in continual fear of recognition by some other ex-prisoner ho may drag her down again, by threats of exposure or by bad ample, all too easily followed. Moreover, if she gets a job, should e tell her employer of her prison record or not? If she does, he apt to thank her very much for telling him, and to say that were left to him he would undoubtedly give her a chance. But he has s other employees, his clients, and so on, to consider, and he does ot like to take the responsibility. If she doesn't tell him, sooner or ter it is found out. Perhaps someone recognises her and blackmails r, or if the employer finds out he says: "If only you had told me the beginning, I might have given you a chance, but you didn't, id that makes me feel I can't trust you now".

She is very conscious of her past and perhaps unduly sensitive about the gaps in her life. "When all the girls were talking about where they spent their holiday last year, I couldn't lie, and I couldn't say where I'd been, and I'm sure they all guessed," one ex-prisoner said to me.

What can Christians do to help?

Perhaps some could think of loving other human beings more and their own property less. Supposing someone to whom you had given a chance does steal the spoons or take the petty cash? It is bad and sad, certainly. But supposing the one you turned away would not have done so? Is that not also bad and sad? Supposing you could have made "all the difference" and didn't? Did our Lord take no risks?

Where you are in a position to employ people in jobs which do not lead to their being directly tempted at their weakest point, you might make a point of employing a few carefully chosen ex-prisoners. One such employer employs thirty men and six women. He generally has about three male and one female ex-prisoners. He tells his foreman and the senior woman, so that they can keep an eye on them, but no one else. Where it becomes known, he makes it clear that he is on the side of giving the ex-prisoner a chance, and that he will not tolerate gossip or bullying. He keeps the proportion of ex-prisoners a small one, chooses them carefully, generally takes first offenders. When they have been with him eighteen months or so, he generally manages to find them other, often better jobs, and then replaces them. In this way, over the past six or seven years, he has helped over twenty men and women to get on their feet again. He has only employed one who "let him down".

Obviously, gifts of clothes or cash are acceptable to people who have very little of either. The welfare officers of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society at the prison nearest to you would be able to advise you of much that is needed for helping prisoners after discharge.

Above all, ex-prisoners, especially persistent offenders, need friends, real friends. Some one person, at least, to whom they can turn for advice, help in trouble, sympathy in joy. Someone who knows all about their records and who still cares for them; someone to whom they can talk freely. Prison governors and assistant governors cannot keep in touch with all of those who have passed through their hands. They need befriending by people who live

near them. If Christians would be ready to make friends with ex-prisoners, if church circles would try to include them in their social activities as well as in worship, much healing work could be done. In the last resort, humanly speaking, it is friendship and personal care that the ex-prisoner needs.

Social Illusions

MICHAEL POLANYI

The substance of an address given at a Frontier luncheon in which the author of "Science, Faith and Society" analyses the practical consequences of some illusions about the structure of society.

Man is an animal endowed with reason and as men we are proud of this distinction. Perhaps we would hesitate to take such pride in it if we realised that it also means that alone among animals we are capable of grave error. Of course it is a fatal mistake for a fish to rise to the angler's fly; but this is not part of any comprehensive system of error. Only man can build up whole systems of false ideas.

In this our moral and our intellectual capacities resemble each other. Just as a knowledge of good and evil makes man capable of guilt, so he becomes capable of error by acquiring reason. It seems, indeed, as if every new branch of knowledge generated at its origin new fallacies. Astronomy was first applied to the foolish practices of astrology, which corrupted with a host of illusions the whole early development of medicine and chemistry. Modern science had to begin by blocking up a multitude of false trails.

I want to speak of some illusions connected with the growth of modern political and economic thought, starting from the publication of *The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith in 1776, and the almost simultaneous publication of the American Declaration of Independence, drafted by Jefferson. The two together may illustrate an early stage of those intellectual activities which created social illusions which are still with us to-day. Adam Smith argues carefully the usefulness of competitive private enterprise, while Jefferson formulates a doctrine of political freedom under which such enterprise can flourish best. The outlook of both is practical; they aim at making the framework of life more flexible by restraining the powers of government. They do not set aims to man's life, nor do they

promise or demand social perfection. While Jefferson wants to restrain governments from abusing their power, Adam Smith aims at correcting the errors of mercantilism. Neither question the existing state of human society.

But others elsewhere were already inflamed by greater ambitions. In France the philosophers of enlightenment were bitterly attacking the Christian churches and all their beliefs and wildly accusing society as the source of all evil, while a boundless confidence in the powers of reason was casting its spell upon their followers. Carl Becker has recaptured these inordinate aspirations in his book, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers.*

Only a few years later these ideas and passions came into absolute power with a group of young men under Robespierre's leadership. At the height of the reign of terror Robespierre aimed to realise the promises of philosophy. Whereas Jefferson proclaimed man's inalienable right to pursue happiness. "The Revolution will not be fully accomplished," said St. Just, "as long as there is a single unhappy person and pauper in the Republic." These are the promises and passions and this is the spirit of violence which have brought forth our own age of social illusions.

Jacobinism was followed by a gradual spread of the liberal, capitalist and nationalist conceptions which still predominate in Europe and America. But the flame of social aspirations was not extinguished. Its embers, scattered all over Europe and far into Russia, went on smouldering below the surface. It has kept burning the unceasing fervour for social reform which has changed and humanised Western society beyond recognition during the past 150 years. But it has also burst out repeatedly in fierce doctrinaire demands which have become the bane of our age and have perhaps already mortally mutilated our civilisation.

Economic Depressions Declared Impossible

Similar absurdities with no less dangerous results were used to defend existing social evils. Every Factory Law had to fight its way inch by inch against an opposition desperately defending the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith which ordered everything automatically aright. The selfish instincts of employers were strengthened by a passionate conviction that the beneficent operations of the market could only be hampered by any restriction of contractual freedom. This prevented their considering the possibility that social reform might benefit rather than damage their own interests.

An even more dangerous, long-lived and still potent fallacy is oncerned with the problem of mass unemployment. Capitalist roduction soon showed itself liable to periodic depressions. Every ven years or so prices fell; stocks became unsaleable; firms went ankrupt; factories closed and workers were dismissed. The con-ition was shocking. Hungry workers not allowed to use idle achinery blamed the whole capitalist system. As early as the eginning of the last century, Sismondi affirmed that there was some ternal defect in Capitalism, since somehow it periodically failed provide the public with enough money to buy the goods which eagerly needed and which the workers were eager to produce.

But since "the invisible hand could do no wrong" economists soon ucceeded in proving to their own satisfaction that the economic epressions complained of could never have occurred at all. This eory, known as "Say's Law", was derived by Jean-Baptiste Say om Adam Smith's doctrine of Free Trade. Smith had exposed the ror that nations could get rich by making money, which he garded merely as a medium enabling the producers to exchange e products of their divided labours. On this basis a universal ut of goods was inconceivable, for an assortment of all kinds of ods could not fail to find customers when suitably exchanged ainst each other. Admittedly, *some* goods would be supplied in cess as compared with others, and some factories would have to ake changes. But all goods could not be simultaneously supplied excess in relation to all other kinds of goods; any more than in pile of bricks, *all* the bricks could be on top of all the others at e same time. Thus the conditions, which the critics denounced absurd and therefore scandalous, were proved to be logically surd and therefore non-existent.

This precious theory was further backed up by a theory of money. was argued that payment for any act of production (e.g., manu-cture, farming, mining or commercial services rendered) auto-atically puts into circulation the exact amount of purchasing power eded to buy that product. The public could therefore never lack e money to purchase the aggregate of goods currently produced. the bitter experience of a recurrent dearth of purchasing power is merely a delusion, which could be readily dispelled by a short urse in economic theory, of which Say's Law now formed an egral part.

This was as cruel a triumph of doctrinaire prejudice over an ugly of facts as any Marxist apologia of Soviet Russia can now

present. The intricacy of the theory was its shield against commo sense. If its conclusions sounded absurd to the ordinary man, h must humbly regard this as due to his own lack of theoretica training; while those sophisticated enough to follow the argumen fell proudly into the trap with a sense of exceptional insight. Prid in their own cleverness always tempts intellectuals to propagat absurd and delusive theories.

While the apologists of capitalism turned away from manifes social evils to glorify the infallibility of the invisible hand, the hatre of existing society and the wild hopes attached to its forcibl destruction transmitted by the Jacobins now turned agains capitalism. The furies of Russian Nihilism and the promises c early French socialism sound mad now. The revolutionary catechisn composed in 1869 by Bakunin and Nechayev commands th revolutionary "to break all ties with the civilised world, its laws, it customs, its morality, all those conventions generally accepted b the world. . . . Night and day he must have but one thought– merciless destruction . . ." Fourier promises that in his socialis colonies children of four would effortlessly acquire twenty differer industrial crafts, and that socialism would make the deserts ferti and fill the seas with sweet water scented with violet.

Marx harnessed this frenzy to his tremendous theory predictin the doom of capitalism and the victory of the proletariat. Slump proved that the productive forces of society were fettered unde capitalism, and prefigured the final collapse of the system and th consequent liberation of vast new potential wealth.

The Keynesian Revolution

As late as 1931, when mass unemployment of unprecedente dimensions was paralysing the whole capitalist world, Professo Alexander Gray, in "The Development of Economic Doctrine", onc more dismissed Sismondi's argument thus: "His chief obsession, th of a general over-production of goods as an explanation of glutte markets and commercial crises, is obviously untenable, and the orth dox spokesman had never any difficulty in showing that while ther may be over-production in respect of particular commodities, uniform over-production of all commodities simultaneously unimaginable". Similarly, Professor Gustav Cassel, reporting official to the League of Nations in 1927 on unemployment, contemptuousl dismissed any supposition of a general shortage of purchasing pow as a vulgar fallacy.

And these were the guiding principles that were followed by the atesmen facing the Great Depression. It made statesmen blind the obvious consequences of their policies. Brüning, Geddes and oover all strove hard, without knowing it, to reduce further the rculation of money, thereby aggravating the mass unemployment hich was swelling the tide of rebellion everywhere.

Meanwhile the revolutionary Russian government was bent on reading socialist illusions over the East and the West. Hannah rendt has shown how completely this regime and its propaganda pudiated the very principle of factuality. Instead they imposed their citizens the duty to uphold certain public fictions, as, for ample, the accusations in the purge trials, which are held to be ue only in the sense that they lend support to the Soviets. A regime stered by such hatred and pledged to such illusions as are the viets can be upheld only by a wholesale obliteration of reality.

Thus, in the 1930s, the Western public was offered a choice tween blind complacency and blind frenzy. We should realise w economic orthodoxy must have exasperated the youthful minds an Alger Hiss or Claus Fuchs and made them responsive to a nzied propaganda.

To-day, economic thought is dominated by ideas developed from eynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money,* blished in 1936. Keynes at last disproved Say's Law and con- med the commonsense view that economic depressions were only o painfully obvious. He showed also that the supply of money wing into the markets varies considerably and controls the pansion and contraction of employment. He showed what sources ed and tend to enlarge monetary circulation and what channels nd to drain money away from circulation. It followed that a fall the volume of employment could be most effectively counteracted reducing taxation, while keeping public expenditure unchanged. that a suitably regulated budgetary deficit would just restore ployment to the 97 per cent level which experience indicated as althy. Higher levels of employment were likely to be accompanied adverse effects of an inflationary character, such as long queues housewives, long delays in supplies of all kinds, a reduction of oice for the consumer, and above all a disastrous drain of gold d foreign currency.

This analysis made it clear that the invisible hand of free trade l not guarantee full employment, and also proved that the inter- ntion of Socialist planning was not required to restore full

employment. Indeed, it turned out that in Russia itself full employment had been achieved not by the rather obscure operations of economic planning but, incidentally, by the continuous presence of a budgetary deficit which swelled the circulation of money.

The result of this clarification has, I think, on the whole been salutary, but passions and illusions are still unwholesomely beclouding the issue of employment policy. In this country there has been no occasion since the war for combating unemployment. Illusionism has shown itself here rather in the way political opinion has responded to this inflationary situation. It is now five years since Sir Stafford Cripps first declared that too much money was chasing too few goods, and that it became clear that this was impairing the availability of goods for export, and depleting the dollar reserves required for the financing of British trade. It has been accordingly the agreed policy of all Chancellors in these five years to reduce monetary circulation. Yet no politician on either side of the House has, up to this day, openly acknowledged that such a policy must increase unemployment, and it seems to me that many citizens are prepared to participate in this game for the sake of listening to what they would like to hear, rather than what in their hearts they know to be true.

In other parts of the world, like Germany, Italy and the United States, there prevails the very opposite illusion. Conservative politicians and business men whose influence prevails in those countries seem to be resolved to keep the budget strictly balanced, irrespective of the level of unemployment. They have allowed unemployment figures of 2-3 million to continue for years on end in Italy, and the level of 1½ million frequently to be reached in Germany. They talk as if they were ready to repeat in a new slump the financial measures of the early 1930s which were directly responsible for provoking the Nazi revolution.

* * *

However, looking back to-day on the social passions and illusions of the past forty years, I can see on the whole a marked decrease in their intensity. The deeper roots of illusionary temper seem to be drying up in Europe, even as their sap is rising in Asia. Western man seems to be reconciling himself once more to the limitations of life in society.

Indeed, the problem which now faces us may be whether a secular civilisation can survive in such a state of sobriety. Can we achieve such wisdom or must we sink instead into apathy?

The paradoxes of Christian life in the East Zone are described by an experienced observer who is able to draw on many sources.

Christian Witness in East Germany

"What does it mean to-day to live as a Christian under the government of a Communist state? Let me first of all answer in the words of the apostle Paul: 'I want you to know, brethren, that what has happened to me has really served to advance the Gospel'. (Phil. i, 12.) That is surely the language of the Holy Spirit. Our flesh and blood, our desires, our fears, all prefer to complain about the complete upset of all previous securities, about the totalitarian government of the Marx-Leninist Party, about the lack of this and that, about the absence of that which in the West goes under the name of freedom of Press, assembly, and thought, and about the many things in public life which seem strange and alien to us. So complains our human nature. But he whose heart has been captured by the Holy Spirit, and who lives under His sway, he it is who begins, amidst all suffering and unrighteousness, to thank God, who through these experiences ever loves us and draws us to His great goodness."

So writes a Christian describing life in his Russian-occupied, Communist-dominated half of Germany. The reaction of the British or American reader is a natural one: what have we to do with this other-worldly piety, understandable as it may be under the savage pressures of Communist rule? This article is devoted to an answer to that question.

The theology behind these words differs from that to which we are used at one fundamental point—the seriousness with which these East German Christians take the *historical* act of God in Jesus Christ: his victory over the powers of the world, and the hope of his coming again. The political events of to-day are seen from this perspective in a new dimension. The Kingdom of God is at hand. The world and its powers may not be judged according to their own standards but from the perspective of God's understanding of them. The Christian need not set his hope on some calculation over how and when the Communist menace will be overthrown. His hope is in Christ, who has won the victory, and who comes. The Christian need not find the meaning of life in ideals of liberal democracy or culture (much as he may legitimately treasure them). His life's meaning is to respond to God's act in Christ. This is the

source of his freedom from fear of the Communists or hate against them; from this comes his ability to look political facts in the face, uncoloured by wish-dreams or escape mechanisms; from this comes his power to understand the human beings who are his neighbours, beyond all the demons that may possess them, and his ability to help them.

New and Old Idols

It is this Christian faith which has produced the clearest political realism in the Communist-dominated world. It is these Christians who understand best that Communism is trying to be a new religion, a "Heilslehre", and not simply another power group. But this realism works in both directions. It understands not only Communism but also the basis on which most people resist Communism. One Christian writes to his Western colleagues:—

"'Little children, keep yourselves from idols,' warns the first letter of John. Our idols are all too recognizable to be able to falsify our faith or teachings (although they are dangerous enough for our temptable flesh, for our honour and goods, for our freedom and life). Your idols are far more dangerous. They are, if I am not mistaken, loved, honoured and respected to a large degree within Christendom itself. All of these idols, really all of them, lie here among us in dust and ashes (for them we have new ones). All that we once trusted and relied upon, what we loved and valued, what we grew up in and never wanted to leave, all of this failed to hold in the time of temptation. And this time did not first come over us in 1945. One doesn't die for the idol of liberal democracy; one doesn't even suffer for it! Still less for 'Christianity', and for a Christian culture least of all. Where have the once holy ideas among us, of truthfulness, free opinion, legality, gone to? The Communist acid has dissolved them all, and shown that a life in this bourgeois-liberal-Christian atmosphere of the nineteenth century is already undermined and inwardly finished, even when it goes on a while outwardly."

But let us take a practical example, that of agriculture. The struggle is at the moment against the growing pressure toward "co-operatives", which are essentially government-controlled collectives, into which farmers are pressed when they have reached the end of their rope. The pressure is created by the fact that farmers must deliver certain quotas of different kinds of products, which are fixed arbitrarily and high. All purchases and sales are govern-

ıent controlled. The private farmer is gradually ground down nder this load until he is forced to give up. Behind him lies the nd reform programme which has long since dispossessed the big ırmer. Around him is the pressure of drumming propaganda, ɔmpulsory schooling and celebrations, the arbitrary rule of the ommunist functionary, the danger of arrest and deportation.

This is the truth. Is it the whole truth? This is a question of ith. The Christian faith brings another set of facts into view—ɔout that which goes on in the heart of the farmer. There we see story of bitter resentment, of inward rejection of the whole Com-unist system of oppression. This resentment and hate are for the ost part based on a longing to return to the old relationships and e old culture—its social inequality, its glorification of the German npire (even sometimes in its Nazi form), its refusal to absorb the fugee or to adjust life on the land to the needs of modern times—clearly demonstrated in the tragic fate of refugees in West ermany. Here is no valid basis on which to resist Communism. ere is a brew which can have a still fouler smell than that of ɔmmunism itself. One Christian leader was asked what the first sk of Christians would be if East Germany were suddenly freed ɔm the Soviets. "We would rush to the market place," he replied, ɔ save the Communists from the mob."

Then there is a third level of truth which Christian faith brings to ht. It is the truth about God's act in this situation, and the ponse of the Christian to it. It is God's will and a Christian ncern that the people be adequately provided with food. It is the mer's responsibility to seek ways to do this, despite government nning and the whole Communist apparatus, despite his own entment and despair. On this basis the farmer can take it as a ristian vocation to stay free of a "co-operative" as long as ssible, and to protest against arbitrary regulations and controls. t for the same reason when he is forced into a "co-operative" l stripped of his property, his Christian responsibility to his ghbour continues—to produce as well as he can, and to put as ch realism and Christian brotherliness into this inhuman structure t will take.

One can put it more generally. It is the Christian's duty to seek well-being of the earthly society in which he is placed—its total l-being, before God, not some Communist misconception of its l-being, not some resentful rejection of the whole system of iety because of the Communism which rules it. It is the business

of the Christian, therefore, to tell the truth to the Communists, in this constructive spirit; the truth about what will work in agriculture and what will not; the truth about the foolishness of total planning but concretely and with the implicit hope that the Communist official will listen and absorb what is told him. In so far as the Communist is not only a representative of his ideology and the power of the Soviet Union but also an official whose business it is to care for a social order which it pleases God to uphold and care for, a possibility of human contact is still there. Only the Christian can make this radical assumption with full realism: because the Christian can see God and His will behind the society, behind the system of agriculture, which the Communist is trying to make new.

Practical Issues

The issue comes to a head in simple ways. A Christian pastor points out in a village meeting that the production quotas which the State has set take no account of the acres of valuable woodland in the village, to sacrifice which would be a loss to the whole society. No one else had dared to speak. A Christian who has found himself as a technical expert in a co-operative uses his position at every point to iron out arbitrary injustices and to meet human needs among the people who come in contact with him. Another pastor is a constant visitor in the village hall, warning the officials in practical ways to take account of the farming experience of the local peasants, and not to force them into arbitrary moulds. It may work also the other way. A Christian farmer may falsify his production figures, and squeeze out certain deliveries which he can make direct to friends in the city, because he knows that these deliveries actually reach those in need. No one is sure about the government-required quotas. There are a thousand ways of rigging transactions in farm goods, whether produce, seed, or farm supplies, so as to mitigate the harshness of total planning in practice while maintaining it in theory. In these also a Christian may be called to take part. Indeed, without them farming is simply impossible, because the requirements of the government plan do not fit the facts of the economy. But in all this it is the spirit of the Christian which is decisive—concern for the neighbour, freedom from fear and hate, a sense for truth and a conscience. The miracle happens, not often, but here and there, that Communist officials note a different atmosphere, and listen to what Christians have to say. "At least you

ave our interests at heart." It is true. The Christian has the terest of the Communist official at heart—not, to be sure, his ommunist illusions and plans, but his genuine interests, as a man sponsible to God for his political power and office, and as an wardly despairing man in need of forgiveness and freedom in sus Christ.

Much has been left out of this picture. The whole problem of the lation of the underground resistance to Christian witness is a chapter r itself. Suffice it to say here that the situation is fundamentally fferent from that during the Hitler period and during the war. Then ere was one clear theological issue—the claim of the German ristians to a type of new revelation, and one social issue—the rsecution of the Jews—which dominated all else. To-day the eological issue is not a strong one, and the social issue is more btle. Then there was the general conviction that Hitler was omed. There was a war situation with a particular end in view. is justified underground activities. To-day there is no war, no alistic hope of "liberation". The underground resistance is based reaction and resentment, and irresponsible idealism which is the iritual ruin of most of those who go into it. The hope of liberation next to Communism, the greatest false religion in East Germany. these circumstances most East Zone Christians can only reject ive resistance movements of the underground sort.

Finally, however, there is a challenge of Communist ideology, of schooling process which goes on from 8 to 10 a.m. every Wedsday morning in every government factory, office, barrack and erever else people normally gather; of the school system, which is ally tuned to a Communist world view.

mmunist Faith

'We are", writes one observer, "in a permanent revolution, in ogress', in a continuous change, in an imposing ruthless system ich changes men inwardly and outwardly one after the other. We part of a great re-education process from the Yellow Sea to the eck Bay. In the party the individual is observed, evaluated, ed, criticised, purged, and changed. In this Order one is disined and controlled. There is self-testing in small groups, which can only understand as the counterpart of the Confessional. ances are meted out, oaths are sworn, sacrifices are brought. A ng Free German Youth functionary has no private life any more. law of Marxism hangs over him day and night. The individual

is sought out and followed with amazing persistence, in order to wrestle for his spirit and overcome it. Faith is called for, and this faith carries all things, hopes all things, endures all things, even the 'temporary difficulties' which come from the fact that 'we haven't any Communism yet, not even socialism, because our people haven't reached the necessary level of ideological consciousness'. I know an enthusiastic functionary who experienced the end of the war in East Prussia with all its murder, rape, mass exile, and has found in Communist teachings the key to a positive understanding of these terrible things."

The question puts itself immediately—with what can the Christian oppose this ideological power? How can he keep his thinking straight? The answer can only lie in the freedom which the Gospel gives, over and against the ideologies of East and West. For Western propaganda pours into East Germany too, and is eagerly soaked up. It contains an ideology built around respectable words such as freedom and democracy. Often it contains a conflict of ideologies—between capitalist and socialist, German nationalist and American internationalist, etc. But it melts into one mixture when it sinks into the mind of the anti-Communist in the Soviet Zone, permeated with his own wish dreams—hope for the day of liberation and revenge and all that goes with it. Against this ideology the Christian also needs to be free.

The strategy of this freedom is to put the question of truth to the Communist ideology. This means that the Christian must know his Marx-Leninism as the Communists themselves know it. He must be able to bring the Communist back to his first principles, to his act of faith, to confront him with this faith in all its uncertainty and inadequacy. He must be able to pick out those bits and pieces of truth, of valid analysis and reform, which are embedded in the Communist thought and practice, and give them a Christian justification and background. The opportunities for this witness are present almost daily, for those who have the courage and the inner peace and freedom to take them. They are human encounters in political examinations, in schooling, in required themes to be written for school, in response to crusading functionaries, and wherever Christians and Communists meet, even in the inquisition cells of the secret police. On the one side is total ideology, sometimes idealistic and fanatic, arguing with threatening undertones ("what you have just said is reactionary propaganda and may have consequences"). Yet, behind it, is often a lost and uncertain child of God. On the other side is the freedom

f a forgiven sinner who has learned that his life is indeed in the ands of a gracious and loving God, seeking to bear witness to what iat God has revealed and is doing, seeking the well-being of his ity, and new fellowship with his estranged brother who has encased imself in a Communist shell.

he Encounter

What happens when this encounter takes place? Let us be clear iat it does not take place as often as it should. Far more Christians ıy from it (out of fear, resentment, or the feeling that it is hopeless any case) than face it. Let an East Zoner put it in his words:

"We should put it once clearly before you: Nothing is so great need for us as Christ Himself, who has performed the miracle for s, that we East Zone people, with our uneasy and tormented con- ience, with all our fear of men and our dull thoughtlessness, with l our envy and bitterness which we wallow in daily, still may belong Him who has not grown weary of us, who still grants us His Word id gathers us to His table. When a man from the West puts his uestions to us, we really don't know what to answer. No, we did ot take the side of the Jehovah's Witnesses, as they more and more ere imprisoned on the nonsensical charge that they were agents of e American General Staff in religious disguise. We have done othing against the show trials which were like the 'People's trials' Russia in their mockery of all justice. Our children write naively, perhaps too knowingly, school themes about 'Why Stalin is the st friend of the German people', and the best have become such ouble-tongued diplomatists that one shudders before this youth which s learned arts which used to be reserved for diplomats and politi- ans. Our students sit in the compulsory lectures and take political aminations one after the other. All too often they answer on inion questions, just what is desired. A large part of the student dy is organized politically, and practically all the rest of the students, en when they are inwardly untouched by Marxist ideology, have ly in rare cases the courage, the imagination, the knowledge—or ould I say the love for others?—to hold their ground and to stand berly and factually with all candour and discretion for that which e has every right to expect from a Christian".

But—the encounter does take place, sometimes in spite of ristians who would like to have avoided it, simply because the issue too clear and conscience too strong. Sometimes the intolerable uble-track life, the continuous hypocrisy required by those who go

along with the Communists and try to remain Christians, overwhelms a believer and he makes his public confession with his life in his hands. Sometimes a Christian is called in the ordinary business of life to take his stand, and takes it, trembling with fear within, yet comforted and sure in his obedience. And when this witness takes place, it is much like in the days of Our Lord. Anything may happen. It may be met with silence—the silence of fear and admiration from colleagues, the silence of embarrassment and strategy from the Communists. It may lead to a violent propaganda campaign in which the Christian must flee or face arrest and prison. It may lead to loss of job or place in school. These things the world sees and judges. But the eye of faith sees more. It sees a myriad of spiritual results. A Christian youth seizes the courage to write the truth in a school theme. He is thrown out of school—but not before the theme has travelled from his home town to Berlin and back, and has been read by hundreds of officials, some of whom murmured to eath other, "Look what this Christian lad says". A woman factory worker refuses to sign a peace petition. It breathes hate, she says, and the way of peace is from God who has made peace with all peoples. She is fired, and comes into the manager's office at his request and finds the man in tears: "Look what a criminal I am! Is there help anywhere for me"? A group of Christians are called together by the Communist Peace Committee of a city and an earnest discussion ensues. No facts are dissembled, no words are minced. The Christians expose frankly the hypocrisy of the Communist "peace" movement. At the end one of the Christians says, "We have spoken openly to you because we believe we owe it to you, for the love God has for us all". The Communists respond with genuine, heartfelt applause. These, and many other incidents which we hear of from day to day, are miracles. According to worldly calculations they cannot happen, or if they do they cannot be important. Yet it is from such daily action of God's grace, breaking into the closed human world, that Christians live in the Soviet Zone. The Communist fanatic who becomes a bit more human, the anxious warped functionary who breathes new life when he meets men to whom truth and love are guides to life, the ordinary citizen who suddenly grasps the fact that Christ is his life, that the kingdom of God is the real power in the Soviet Zone, and in this new freedom and responsibility faces privation, danger, perhaps prison and death—these are the fruits of God's grace and the witnesses to His victory which quicken the heart of the believer, in this world.

Let me close with one other incident. A pastor said to me, "When

fter 10 o'clock at night an automobile stops outside my house, I udder involuntarily and have to fight down my rising fear. I know is means that I am under a constant nervous strain. I know that y nervous strength is limited, that there must come some day a lease which I cannot see in the trend of events, or my own break-own. But God also knows how much nervous strength I have left. e knows also the calling he has set before me here and the witness e wants me to make. These calculations, these concerns about the ture, I can leave to Him.

"Yes and I shall rejoice. For I know that through your prayers nd help of the Spirit of Jesus Christ this will turn out for my deliver-nce. As it is my eager expectation and hope that I shall not be at l ashamed, but that with full courage now as always Christ will be noured in my body, whether by life or by death. For to me to live Christ, and to die is gain".

Frontier Conversation

FACTORIES AND PARSONS

anager: At my works it happens almost every day that a G.P. ngs up the works doctor or someone in the factory to consult him out a patient at the works. So many illnesses are to do with worry out work. Never has a parson rung up about the worries of one his flock.

ientist: Hardly any parsons know what the inside of a works is e.

octor: That is the kind of co-operation doctors have been aiming at r a long time, but you must have the patient as liaison. He has to to the G.P. to begin with and tell his troubles to him. But to-day the clergy of any church receive the confidences of their flock? know some Church of England clergy who have been horribly ubbed for showing an interest in their people's affairs.

anager: That describes probably 99 per cent of the failure of the urches. If a parish priest was a true priest and visited his flock would know instinctively when something was wrong with them.

iner: The church doesn't ask the co-operation of the trade unions d it never goes to them and says: "Is there any way we can help u?"

iest: It is true that the clergy have a great deal to learn about the eryday life of their people. Recently this has come to me very

strongly. I am connected with some groups of Christian trad unionists and, since I have been working with these groups and dis cussing their work with them, I have been told how my preaching ha changed. I was talking in the air before, but now I speak to thei condition. But what I say is not of primary importance. The funda mental thing is that the Christian who is a Christian worker mus bear testimony to Christianity. The only way Christianity is mad relevant to working life is by the men themselves doing it.

Civil Servant: The trouble is that a chap who talks religion a work usually lets down both religion and his work badly.

Publicist: There are many other things that we might say abou this, but I wonder whether Christians are anywhere near th solution of this problem. We are not ready for the self-sacrific which is needed. Take me. I started in an insignificant way an accepted promotion when it was offered to me. But looking back on asks whether the real Christian witness would not have been to hav stayed right there on the floor. Perhaps that kind of embracing o life is to-day's equivalent to the missionary's vocation in Centra Africa in the last century.

THE PRESENT QUESTION CONFERENCE, 1953

will be held at

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford

from August 8th to 15th

SPRINGS OF ACTION

ON SPRINGS OF ACTION
H. Westmann
Chairman: W. D. Hogarth

TRADITION
M. Foster

THE EVIDENCE OF BIOLOGY
Prof. P. B. Medawar
Chairman: W. D. Hogarth

POLITICS
Prof. K. B. S. Smellie

CREATIVE INACTION
O. van der Sprenkel
Chairman: J. F. Wolfenden

OPEN DAY

CHAMBER CONCERT
Edmund Rubbra—Antoinette Chaplin

THE LONGING FOR TRUTH
Prof. C. A. Coulson

KNOWLEDGE
A. W. Sinclair
Chairman: Sir Herbert Read

COMMUNICATION
Christopher Salmon

MORAL JUDGMENT
Leslie Paul
Chairman: Prof. H. D. Lewis

PRODUCTIVITY
Dr. L. Rostas

LEISURE
T. F. Coade
Chairman: The Earl of Verulam

PERSONAL DECISION
Dr. J. H. Oldham
Chairman: H. Westmann

Inquiries to: Secretariat, 37 Middleway, London, N.W.11

Frontier Chronicle

hristianity in U.S. Congress

The National Council of the hurches of Christ reports the ligious affiliations of 95 Senators id 435 members of the House of epresentatives (total 530), as llows:—

357 Protestants (using the term in the broadest sense)
70 Roman Catholics
10 Jews
103 have no affiliation reported (of these, only one is a Senator)

nristian Radicalism in Asia

A rich variety of Protestant and rthodox churches from many lands ok part in the Asian Study Con-rence organized by the World ouncil of Churches which met at cknow on 27th December, 1952. ne of the four main themes of the nference was the "Responsible ciety in East Asia in the light of e World Situation". The respon-le society was defined as an ernative to *laissez-faire* capitalism d totalitarian Communism.

The Conference's report on the sponsible Society states that "in der to promote a responsible order society there must be land reform. is means not only the abolition of privileges and outdated patterns land tenure, it also means the velopment of social and legal con-ions which will make a new and re just system of land develop-nt and community life possible. cially the report calls for aboli-n of the old feudal landlord tem. There is in most cases no ral justification for compensation the landlord, by the state or the tivator. Justice for the peasant uires that he should not be bur-dened with new indebtedness due to compensation. Ownership by culti-vators of farms in appropriate subsistence size is the goal. Freedom from the money-lender through making credit available to the peasant on cheap terms. Utilisation without delay of unutilised land. Provision of land for landless peasants and settlement of homeless."

The report further affirms that one of the conditions of economic development in East Asia is that basic industries and certain key industries must be nationalised, and at the same time that due place be given to private enterprise—both large- and small-scale industries. Foreign economic assistance is to be encouraged, provided it comes with no political strings attached to it.

The report continues: "The tend-ency in America to use the criterion of anti-Communism for determining foreign policy generally leads to the support of conservative and reaction-ary political groups in the East Asian scene. Thereby it weakens the forces of healthy social reform. Thus the line is bound to be self-defeating because in the final analysis social health is the best answer to Com-munism." "The relatively large emphasis upon military power to defeat Communism is one of the important results of increasing inter-national tension, and involves in itself a threat to the movements of national freedom and social justice. Military power has value only as a means of giving nations time to achieve positive democratic and responsible social change."

Such views are not necessarily the official opinions of the churches concerned, but they are widely held among Asian Christians.

Self-help Among Kikuyus

Canon Bowes, the Africa Secretary of the C.M.S., returning from his recent visit to the Christians among the Kikuyus, has described the everyday difficulties with which Kikuyu Christians are faced, quite apart from the dangers of sudden violence from the Mau Mau. Mau Mau members refuse to sell to non-members, so that Christians often cannot buy food in the market. So "when a Christian means to kill a bullock he tells all the Christians for miles around and has often sold it all within 24 hours". Or, again, fellowship meetings often end with such announcements as "I'm preparing charcoal, bring your sacks on Wednesday".

Dutch Churches and the Flood

The following message was read in the services of the Netherlands Reformed Church on Sunday, the 8th February:—

"The General Synod of the Netherlands Reformed Church, acting after consultation with the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformed Churches, the Christian Reformed Church, the Remonstrant Brotherhood, the General Mennonite Society, the Old Catholic Church, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church, invites you to participate in an act of humiliation, prayer and sacrifice. Our whole nation has been hit heavily by inundations surpassing anything man can remember. We rejoice in the spontaneous and abundant readiness to help which has been shown on all sides. We are in deep sorrow over the violent deaths of many. With deep sympathy we think of all who lost their homes and belongings and who have seen their cattle disappear into the floods. The extent of this national disaster can hardly be estimated. Let us humiliate ourselves before the Lord our God.

O Earth, o earth, o earth,
Hear the word of the Lord.

"Let us confess our sins and pray for mercy and forgiveness. In our intercessions we should remember all those who owing to this disaster are in great physical, material or spiritual need. Let us support the national collection with our sacrificial giving. In the coming days very much will be required from the government and the people, from the Church and the congregation, and from every one personally in order to meet human need and the needs of the distressed areas.

The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea than the mighty waves of the sea."

The General Synod of the Netherlands Reformed Church has set up an Inundation Committee with separate departments for the pastoral care of the evacuees, for their material needs and for various aspects of church life in the stricken areas. There are no central church funds, and since the congregations of the stricken districts have no incomes they cannot support their pastors.

A Dutch correspondent writes: "The disaster has given birth to an enormous outburst of unity among our people. Men of every rank and station tried to save people and dikes. women of every rank and station helped to collect clothes, food and money. Lodgings for refugees were offered from everywhere".

Médecine de la Personne

Since 1947 a group of over 100 doctors, convened by Dr. Tournier of Switzerland, from all the countries

Western Europe and from umania and Czechoslovakia have en meeting for a full week every ar at the Ecumenical Institute, at ossey, near Geneva. Their work described in the current issue of *ymen's Work*, issued by the orld Council of Churches. They ve comprised representatives of ery branch of the medical pro-ssion, medicine, surgery and ychiatry, and of all branches of ristianity, as well as many men o own their uncertainty and verty of religious convictions. any of them come again year after ar, busy though they are. In this y they have created an atmosphere which they can speak of their rsonal problems as well as of the atment of others. It turns out at even those who belong to a urch may be desperately alone in e of secret moral dilemmas.

The scientific approach to medicine s been wonderfully successful in aling with many diseases, such as gue, malaria and pneumonia, but rvous affections and functional dis-lers show an alarming increase and now sending more people to the ctor than any other type of illness. ientific analysis is well adapted to ke clear the working of man's imal nature. But his moral con-ousness cannot be touched by this thod. Complete understanding of sick man can only be obtained by entific knowledge of causal chanism joined to a Christian rception of the man's ultimate nificance.

The doctor's own personality is of greatest importance. He cannot ve more than he himself has. He ist himself have been reborn by ter and the spirit; he cannot help patients by a borrowed or studied ty.

Cows for Refugees

"Goodwill," the 1000th cow given by American farmers through the Heifer Project to refugees from the east now living in Eastern Germany, was recently delivered to her future owner. When 200 more heifers have been sent the project's goal will have been achieved. Since it was initiated by the Church of the Brethren in 1945 the Heifer Project has sent to the aid of war sufferers (principally refugees) in a number of countries 11,750 cows, bulls, goats and horses.

Boys and Farmers

During the last twenty years the Y.M.C.A. scheme, "British boys for British farms," has trained 11,000 town-bred youngsters from 14 to 17 years old to work on the land. First the boys are given a short elementary agricultural training by the Y.M.C.A. itself. After that they have gone to work for three months as trainees with farmers, who are chosen first and foremost because they are good farmers, sympathetic and patient teachers, with kindly and responsible wives. That they should be church-going Christians is not the first consideration. Yet many of them see—and the Y.M.C.A. helps them to see—that good husbandry and the capacity to guide the young are gifts from God. They are paid nothing.

For the first two years, i.e., for their training and early employment, the Y.M.C.A. keeps an eye on the boys.

Bernard Brown, the Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. Community Service, writes: "Eight out of ten of the boys so far have stuck to the land. They have learned more than sturdy self-reliance, pride in the job, more seeing eyes, something they know which they did not know before of the nature of the good life and man's relation to God".

Christian Leadership in Industry

William Temple College has now found a permanent home at the Old Rectory, Rugby, where it is well placed on the verge of an industrial area, and the Governors hope to establish the work of the College there by the early months of 1954. The aims of the College are: (1) to train men and women to exercise intelligent Christian leadership in industry; (2) to equip social workers with a good working knowledge of the Christian faith and ethics; (3) to provide special courses for teachers in Christian theology and Biblical knowledge; and (4) to give the clergy and lay-workers of the church some knowledge of industrial society and social studies. The College is recognised by the Ministry of Education for the third purpose, while already groups of men, coming from various industries and carrying diverse responsibilities within them, have attended long week-end courses on Christian leadership sponsored by their firms; personnel managers and clergy have come for conferences, and students who have followed longer courses have prepared themselves for social and educational work at home and overseas.

Social Service in Madagascar

Benedictine missionaries have launched a new experiment in Madagascar. Madagascan girls are received as "secular dedicates" and are given an extremely thorough training to fit them for neighbourhood work among their own people. The course, which is residential, is held at the convent in Ambrosita, and begins with general and religious education, character training and hygiene. Later stages embrace not only theoretical studies in social work, but also practical experience of child care and the care of pregnant and nursing mothers. The domestic part of the course, again both theoretically and practically, teaches household management, including cooking and simple dietetics, sewing, handyman repairs, and also gardening, poultry-keeping and dairy work.

The girls then return to their own family, or, if they have no personal family, to the groups which will receive them at least expense. They take part-time paid employment, working for wages, only just enough hours to cover their keep, and devote the rest of their time to the service of their neighbours.

Our Affairs are Getting Mixed Up

Reinhold Niebuhr writes in *Christianity and Crisis* for 2nd February:

"Catholics and Protestants ought to realize that the mutual fear and mistrust in which they live is an offence to Christian charity and a scandal in the sight of scoffers and unbelievers. They ought to take steps to make contact between the two communities, at least as intimate as those which exist in the German Rhineland, for instance. They must, furthermore, take practical steps to liquidate the specific controversy in regard to education, more particularly the Federal Education Bill. The most obvious solution of this problem is for Protestants to give up their opposition to federal aid to Catholic children and for Catholics to disavow public aid for the maintenance of parochial schools. To accomplish this result both sides will have to be more flexible in defining the standards to which they appeal. The Catholics ought to realize that no abstract standards of justice can overcome the historic prestige of an established institution, such as the public school. The Protestants must learn that no principle, such as the separation of Church and State, is not subject to

mendment in the light of new develop-ents. The particular developments hich challenge this principle are two. n the one hand the realization that bsolute separation leads to the secular-ation of our culture, and that on the her hand the modern state with its ide taxing powers cannot so easily be separated from any vital aspect of community concern as the fathers assumed."

Times are indeed changing if a great leader of American Protestantism is ready to question the separation of Church and State.

As it Looks to Africans

nder this heading Africans will be asked to comment on books bout Africa by Europeans. In this issue two Nigerian Christians write on recent books about East Africa.

au Mau and The Kikuyu. By L. S. B. Leakey. (Published by Methuen at 7s. 6d.)

There has been much unrest in enya and many of our daily news-pers carry headlines about it. But re is a book that describes the ople most directly concerned in this fortunate situation in such a way would enable every reader to preciate some of the factors behind e headlines.

It is very significant that nearly ery page of this book justifies the istence of real difficulties and ievances which the Kikuyu endure a result of European contact and e subsequent breakdown of the old mmunity life. Prominent among ese grievances is the shortage of nd. Whether it is the function of y Government to preserve property, cluding land, for the future devel-ment of the community whose erest it is out to protect, or to dis-ard such possible future develop-nt and alienate land ("though in od faith"), the author does not say.

Two conclusions can safely be awn from this book although the thor might not see them as clearly as I do, lacking as he does the psychological experience of what contact with Europe has done to the African. These are the conclusions:

The Kikuyu had a well ordered system of Government with democratically elected council of senior elders with a Muthamaki' (a spokesman) as its leader. Within this set-up everybody had a part to play and the authority of Government by this Council was derived from the community and therefore was binding and respected. Again, because any citizen could rise to the highest possible place by his ability and by the consent of his equals, there was, within the social environment, an incentive strong enough to make education for citizenship and for responsibility sought after. The author laments the fact that modern European education has not produced men of character fit for community responsibility as the old tribal education did. But the reason for this is not given in the book. The social set-up with "legalised" colour bar creates an environment in which you cannot train the African for citizenship, because he is not recognised as a

full citizen by the highest authority of the community as the old pre-European set-up did. This is clearly proved from page 115, on the question of differential rates of pay by the Government. The Africans, "no matter what their qualifications, their colour and race precluded them from earning salaries even comparable to those of Europeans with lesser qualifications". How can you educate people for citizenship in such an absurd and almost immoral environment!

A people who had learnt to choose their leaders, "—by deeds of bravery, by excelling at dancing, by being such good organizers or speech-makers, that they were chosen by their fellows as leaders", were not all that primitive. This point is very important. Very often some Europeans talk glibly of "simple, primitive, ignorant Africans", whom they have gone out to "civilize". I think that the Kikuyu whose social organization, law and order, the author very ably describes in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, were highly civilized. They lacked literacy and scientific technique. These were what Europeans would have helped them to acquire within the context of the social organization still governed by the Kikuyu. Whatever changes in their society literacy and technology would bring, would have been directed by them from within their organized life and would not have been violent. Instead a colonial system of Government was introduced. This system to the Kikuyu was a Government from the outside, by the outsider, for the outsiders. The authority which formerly was "of" the community became merely "over" the community. This automatically killed the sense of responsibility and all that goes with it among the Kikuyu.

The other conclusion is this. A people who have in the past counte in the expression of the highes authority of their community canno very easily be deprived of it. Afte all, "the will to significance" is primal human tendency and to des troy it would lead to "communit neurosis" such as the Mau Mau i a symptom of. The author show very clearly that in the organize government system before the arriva of the white man, Mau Mau coul not and would never have occurrec It is therefore a savagery created b the arrival of the white man an not by "the dark and sinister ten dencies" of the Kikuyu, as an M.P once wrote in *The Times*.

In conclusion, Dr. Leakey lament the weakness of the Christian Churc which alone could have, and sti can save, the situation. Perhap Christianity would have had a bette chance in Africa without Europea Imperialism. But we have to pra for the Church in the situation i which it now finds itself in Africa This you can do more effectivel after you have read Dr. Leakey' book.

EDMUND ILOGU.

Temporal Responsibility of Christia Missions

The Missionary Factor in East Africa By Roland Oliver. (Longman's Green and Co. 12s. 6d.)

"Primarily, Kenya is an Africa territory, and His Majesty's Govern ment think it necessary definitely t record their considered opinion tha the interests of the African native must be paramount, and that if, an when, those interests and the interest of the immigrant races should con flict, the former should prevail . . . As in the Uganda Protectorate, s in the Kenya Colony the princip

f trusteeship for the Natives no less
ıan in the Mandated Territory of
anganyika is unassailable."

This historic pronouncement by a
ritish Conservative Government in
922 was the climax of a long series
f negotiations between the Govern-
ent and missionary bodies working
East Africa, after the adoption, in
919, of a policy of compulsory
quisitioning of African labour for
e benefit of European settlers in
enya.

With an unusual foresight, all the
hristian missions in East Africa
bmitted a joint memorandum to
e Secretary of State for the
olonies calling attention to the
owing tendency to subjugate the
terests of the African population
Kenya to those of the European
habitants. The terms of reference
nich they suggested for a Royal
ommission on Kenya are practically
entical with those governing the
ork of the present Commission.
e pity is that the good advice of
e missionaries was not followed
d that we have had to be compelled
Mau Mau to act. Even then, it
s apparent that the Reserves were
o small and infertile; the settler
ms were too large and inefficient;
rican farming methods and econ-
y were too archaic; African edu-
ion was not being advanced to
mpensate for increased taxation;
ricans were not playing a part
mmensurate with their numbers
d ability in the central administra-
n of the country.

All this, and more, has been admir-
y placed in an historical setting
Dr. Roland Oliver.

The importance of missionary
uence in East Africa should not
underrated. But for the per-
erance of the missionaries,
ecially the Church Missionary
iety, the acquisition of the East
African Empire at a cost of less
than £200,000 would have been im-
possible.

The enthusiasm and Christian zeal
of men like Bishop Tozer, of the
Universities Mission in the 1860's,
not only in freeing but also in
rehabilitating negro slaves from their
Arab masters undoubtedly won them
the devotion and trust of the
Africans—reaching its acme when, in
1873, Livingstone's body was carried
by his African followers 1500 miles
from Lake Bungweolo to the sea.

Contrast such fellowship with the
mad imperialist days that were to
follow. It would appear that just
as Kipling here in England was
singing odes about the unqualified
blessing of European influence in
East Africa the missionaries began
to work on the principle of *"Cujus
regio ejus religio"*. The Moravians
set up a wharf at Kyimbila and asked
two missionaries to organise the
commercial dealings in order to
prevent social and business contacts
between Africans and Asiatics.
Bishop Tucker found £4500 (collected
at the Pan-Anglican Congress of
1908) inadequate to upkeep one
European missionary family in Africa,
but hired eighty-five Baganda evan-
gelists for that sum, and used them
"to disguise the connection of the
movement with its European
originators".

Oliver has sat on the fence on the
question of Christianity and race-
relations in the multi-racial societies
of East Africa with which we are
faced. Canon Bewes boldly pro-
claims that the problems of Kenya
will not be solved until a re-
allocation of land in favour of the
Africans takes place, but the author
of *The Missionary Factor in East
Africa* can only describe the "attrac-
tion of the natural good manners and
straightforward *bonhomie* of the

unsophisticated pagan, and understand why many Europeans find him an easier companion than the self-conscious and suspicious young nationalist emerging from the schools".

OLUMBE BASSIR.

Book Reviews

A Classic of Our Time

R. H. Tawney: *The Attack and other Papers.* (Allen & Unwin, 1953. 16s.)

This volume unites essays the author has written during the last thirty years. R. H. Tawney has, together with Keynes and William Temple, formed and guided the spiritual climate of our time on its highest level. He throws his net wide. He opens up with reflections of a soldier; he reprints a series of subtle contributions on China; he joins various papers in which he defines the principles and aims of the British Labour movement to whose spiritual equipment he has contributed more than anybody alive. In two admirable papers on the Webbs he puts their work in the context of the social sciences during the last half century. A concluding essay discusses *Christianity and Social Order* which is of particular relevance to readers of this journal, for in it Tawney demonstrates convincingly that spiritual principles must be *applied*, if their validity is to be tested by our daily responsibilities.

All constructive social thought is insolubly tied to the person who creates it. Tawney allows us, which is rare in his work, to participate in this creative process. Thus a classic speaks to us with a penetrating, exhorting voice.

One can only express the wish that he will soon give us another volume in which he might harvest perhaps less occasional papers, now dispersed in learned journals. The world of Tawney, like that of Acton, Diltey and Max Weber, is too universal to be easily compressed between the covers of one volume.

J. P. MAYER.

Homer Nods?

Emil Brunner: *The Church in the New Social Order.* (S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d

"It is", says Professor Brunner "neither the Church nor the social order which ultimately matter, but the *ekklesia*, the body of Christ into which no one enters but through the Word and Grace of God." This broad contention is likely to be generally accepted by most Christians to-day. When, however, Professor Brunner deals with the central topic covered by the title of his address to last year's Free Church Conference, now published, he seems to contradict himself. On page 12 he says "The first thing to be said about the Church's task in the new social order is that it is the same as in any previous or future social order . . .". Yet on page 28 he says, "The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the same in all ages. But the task of the Church, given by His Gospel and constituted by it, is not the same but different in every epoch". Once again, on page 11 we read: ". . . the Church has the task to strive and work for a just and human social order" but on page 28 we are told: "What we need now is a new social Gospel but different from that of the last generation in that it does not strive for a social *order* but for personal community".

If we are to fill the frame of the new social order, Professor Brunner insists that we need "a personalistic communism and a sacramental existentialism". It is not very clear what these terms mean, but there can surely be no doubt that if these aims were even partially achieved, our present social order would, in fact, have been altered out of all recognition. JOHN EDWARD

ıristianity in History

ıe Christian Society. By Bishop Stephen Neill. (Nisbet & Co., 1952, pp. vii-xiv, 328. 17s. 6d.)

It is sometimes said in praise of a ok that it is not the kind of work be read at one sitting; it is high aise for *The Christian Society*, how- er, to say that it is precisely the kind book to be taken in at one sitting— a long train-journey, perhaps. For shop Neill's book has just that amatic unity which draws the reader from one point to the next; to read it like listening to a good story-teller o captures your attention so that you eager to learn what happened next, d disappointed if you have to leave in the middle.

After a hesitant beginning on "Jesus d His Society", Bishop Neill gradually ercomes his nervousness in face of audience of form-critics, as he passes to the growth of the Christian ciety, the persecutions and the Edict Milan. The rhythm is disturbed a le in the account of medieval society, ere even Bishop Neill's skilful neralizations are not quite adequate. in the subsequent chapters, on ssionary enterprise and the oecumeni- movement, he really warms to a ject which is dear to his heart. ese pages carry a conviction which kes them rewarding reading, for y contain many practical observa- ns that could only come as the fruit devoted missionary work; on page , for instance, he tells us about v to destroy idols—in a way likely commend itself to depth-psycholo- s concerned for the withdrawal of jections! Bishop Neill's generosity warmth is maintained to the very , by which time the figure of Jesus ist is all in all (much more so, ously enough, than in the first pter).

onfronted with a work of such erstanding, a Roman Catholic re- viewer is under an obligation to the author of stating the main points at which he was surprised at what he read. The first was to learn that the book is a "phenomenology of the Christian religion" (page xi); strictly speaking the phenomenological method cannot determine questions of ultimate truth, and so it is a comfort to find that Bishop Neill goes beyond phenomenology and writes from the standpoint of his own faith (xiii). In the same spirit he refuses to lay down at the beginning what he means by "Christian" and concerns himself with "all who have claimed the Christian name" (xii); this would be an impossible task, and the fact that he does not deal with Jehovah's Witnesses and similar sects seems to indicate that he has some more exacting standard of what he means by "Christian". To describe the Franciscan movement as "a puritan reaction", and to suggest that Catharism falls into the same category (130) is misleading. So is the implication on page 162 regarding the Council of Trent's teaching on virginity and marriage; rightly seen, consecrated virginity is the surest bulwark for the sanctity of marriage, as Catholic married people are well aware. The note on page 186 gives a wrong impression of the Church's treatment of Jews in the Middle Ages. On page 299 there are several lines on the doctrine of no salvation outside the Church; they are inaccurate.

As can be seen, the shortness of the above list is a tribute to Bishop Neill's generosity. However, there are more general issues over which any one might feel uneasy. The frequency with which he commends a return to the practice of the early Church leaves one wishing he would stress the abiding presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit leading us into all truth until the consummation of time; there is no need—or possibility —of going back upon the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Again, it is difficult

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see how one may legitimately put the
riptures into the hands of simple
ople if those very Scriptures have so
tle guarantee as the first chapter,
esus and His Society", offers. Further-
ore, it is somewhat startling to read
history of Jesus Christ, and his agony
r our redemption throughout the ages,
thout even a mention of Satan. This
uld have amazed the early Christians!

DONALD NICHOLL.

mmunism and Hugh Lister

e Communist Technique in Britain. Bob Darke. (Collins, 10s. 6d.)

This extremely well written book, by Hackney busman and Borough uncillor who left the Communist rty after eighteen years as a trusted al leader, deserves serious study. It not merely that the story of disillusion-nt which we have heard from so ny middle-class writers is here told a working man who, as one of the letarian elect, feels the appeal of mmunism in his blood and bones, simply in his heart and head. It is traightforward account of Communist ics and practice and of their effect ordinary British working men and men of the dynamic, diabolic aspect Communism.

Christian readers will note with rticular interest the moving des-otion of the author's friendship with late Hugh Lister, that remarkable st who was also a trade union nch secretary and an organizer of kes in Hackney Wick before the war. e two men worked together in joint stance to the local exploitation of our, until the Communist Party ided to break Lister's influence in branch by vicious and slanderous ation and Darke was forced by ty discipline to conform. It made difference to Lister's friendship. whole episode is a classic of ristian behaviour—and perhaps a able for our time.

KENNETH JOHNSTONE.

Humans in Industry

Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton: *Three Studies in Management.* (Routledge and Kegan Paul. 18s.)

"Until such time as sociology and psychology can, out of lowly and pedestrian skills, develop the beginning of understanding, until then we shall continue to find technical advance provocative of social chaos and anarchy." So wrote the late Elton Mayo in "The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization". Here in these three studies of managerial skills by two Field Research Officers of the British Institute of Management, we have first class work clearly inspired by Elton Mayo's challenge and, as the authors acknowledge, owing very much to the principles which he laid down.

The first study is of a large modern colliery, an example of the old industrial order, where novel forces of rapid change are in sharp conflict with established routines, and where re-adjustments have been slow. We are shown how the traditional bases of teamwork among miners have been atrophied or destroyed. "Yet", as the authors say, "their habits of teamwork are deep-seated, their habits of mutual assistance are as strong as their individualism and they will unite at the slightest danger. Deprived of traditional opportunities for teamwork, they will team up in resistance—to outsiders, to innovations, to mechanization—or in open hostility, expressed for instance in the form of strikes".

The second study deals with the introduction of factory employment (hosiery finishing) in a northern mining village. It tells how the first contacts were made and workers recruited, how women were trained in a delicate skill and in due course developed into proficient and responsible workers, producing more than their counterparts in advanced industrial communities. Here indeed is more than the "beginning of

understanding". Sociology, the Cinderella of the sciences, here "dons the crystal slippers and walks into adventure" as Elton Mayo always wanted her to do.

The final study is in contrast to the first. It concerns one of the largest hosiery firms set in a community typical of modern industrial civilization in its instability and relative absence of tradition—a firm where drastic changes of organization and methods have become almost routine. Here we see illustration of management skills in a rapidly changing environment.

While the first study is somewhat depressing, the two last are encouraging, for they show that there are ways by which an organization can adapt itself to drastically changing circumstances in a civilized and efficient manner. The best methods of doing this, as the authors both say and demonstrate, are based on the principle: "Will, not force, is the basis of industry".

JOHN EDWARDS.

More than a Reference Book

World Christian Handbook, 1952. Ed. by E. J. Bingle and K. G. Grubb. (World Dominion Press. 21s.)

The new edition of the *World Christian Handbook* is enriched by welcome information about the Roman Catholic Church. The statistical sections are brought up to date and new introductory articles have been written. These have more cutting edge than is usual with handbooks of this kind. The following extract, taken from the section on Russia, indicates the quality of the whole:

"The official position with reference to religion is negative in principle, resilient in practice, aiming at the eventual eradication of religion (through the transformation of society and its members).

"How interesting it is, against this background, to turn to the popular unofficial attitude of Russians who speak neither for the State nor the Church. There is quite a lot of material on whic to draw our information. During th war and for four or five years after i Soviet citizens sent abroad for stud or on official missions were not avers to talking about religion. But nearl every question to them drew a blank there were no churches, the peopl never went to church. However, thos who came as German forced labou and remained as displaced persons, nc intending to return to the U.S.S.R presented a different picture. Olde people quickly and joyfully resume church connexion. Younger peopl were at first sceptical, but after makin contact with the Church became earne and convinced Christians.

"It is all quite confusing, yet suscep tible of understanding in terms of th Communist teaching of dialectic mate ialism. Natural forces are in conflic The Party has learned to manipulat hostile forces and even to utilize ther when it cannot eradicate them. Th existence of religion in the U.S.S.R. taken as an instrument for contact wit religious persons and organizatior abroad. Not a few persons and dele gations visiting Russia, or learnin of religious life in the U.S.S.R. hav gained a favourable attitude toward the Soviet State and even towards th Communist Party . . .

". . . perhaps the peculiar nature c Russian Orthodox Church life, especiall the needs at this time, may call less fc theology than for liturgical help Theology is for the *elite*: worship is fc the people. We might also note tha publication of books on theology c other religious subjects would impl reading outside of worship services an specialized schools, and could therefor be considered religious propaganda which is illegal. On the other hand literature related to the cult or hymn books has application only in servic of worship".

In Communist countries the Christia Frontier is the church door. J. W. I

NEW BOOKS

Foolishness to the Greeks 6s net

by T. R. MILFORD
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Interpreting Theology 1918-1952 10s 6d net

by DANIEL DAY WILLIAMS
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